



# THE ŚĀKTA PĪTHAS



*By*

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## CRITIQUE

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*The Śākta Pīthas* by Dr D C Sircar, which is limited and precise in scope but has a wide appeal, brings honour to the young historian of Calcutta. Its basis is a critical edition of the *Pīthamr̥naya* or *Mahāpīthamr̥pc̥na* which is a short treatise of the late period describing the fiftyone pilgrim spots associated with the Mother Goddess under some of her various names. Each one of the *pīthas* is mentioned along with a particular form of the Goddess and that of Śiva associated with it.

The said text passes as a chapter of the *Tantracūdāmaṃ* and resembles some others, so that a plausible edition, based on six manuscripts and four source materials which Dr Sircar's diligence has succeeded in grouping together, was philologically realisable. The editor adds a reconstructed text, based mainly on a Bengali version, and furnishes other useful matters in appendices one of them containing an index of the *pīthas* with necessary identifications of the localities.

But what doubtless deserves much more attention is the erudite study in the introduction, wherein the author recapitulates what is known or may be presumed about the problem of the *pīthas*. Leaving aside minor indications, the legend which seeks to explain the origin of the *pīthas* is the well-known 'epico-purānic' account of Dakṣa's sacrifice, interrupted by Śiva's wrath. The story seems to have developed out of certain allusions in the *Bṛāhmanas* referring to the peculiar misfortunes of Bhaga and Pūṣan. In the later *Purānas* and the Purāna-type *Tantras*, the image of Viṣṇu cutting off, part by part, Sati's corpse borne on Śiva's shoulder has been grafted on this legend.

The severed parts of Satī's body fell on the earth and each formed a *pīṭha*, a cult having come to be crystallised on it. Dr Sircar recalls in this connection the Buddhist legends about the Buddha's relics and the more distant Greek version of the Osiris myth. We see here, once again, that a cult, quite well localised geographically, develops on absolutely mythical conceptions.

Certain *pīṭhas* appear to be associated more especially with the breasts and the female organ of the Goddess, probably analogous to the conception of the phallic emblem of Śiva. Whatever that may be, the religious crystallisation seems to have taken place originally on the basis of a group of 4 *pīṭhas* at a time which, according to Dr Sircar, may coincide with the appearance of the early *Tantras*. These 4 *pīṭhas* are supposed to represent the four cardinal points though, from the beginning, the region of Kāmarūpa (Assam) enjoyed a privileged position in the scheme. Gradually there appeared 7 *pīṭhas*, then 10, then 18 (a sanctified number), ultimately (through the intermediate numbers 42, 50 and 51) as many as 108 (an equally expected number). The *Pīṭhamr̥naya* is based on a list of 42, which was later enlarged by the inclusion of the 10 *mahāvidyās* of Kāmarūpa, the counterpart of the 10 *avatāras* of the Viṣṇuīte cycle.

In an appendix, Dr Sircar discusses the evidence for determining the date of the celebrated encyclopaedic treatise *Tantrasāra* (first half of the 17th century). Another appendix, the scope of which is more general than novel, deals with the development of the Śakti cult from Vedic times going as far back as the Mohen-jo-daro motifs, the interpretation of which is, however, not quite decisive. (Translated from the *Journal Asiatique*, 1950, pp. 427-29).

## THE ŚĀKTA PĪTHAS

By DR DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M A , PH D.

(Received June 25, 1947)

प्राच्यविद्योदधेरिन्दोरज्ज्वलज्ञानकर्मणः ।  
सूत्रैः श्रीह्रीमचन्द्रस्य रायचतुर्धरस्य च ॥  
भाग्यहारकर-वंशाब्ज-देवदत्तस्य धौमतः ।  
प्रत्नलिपिप्रगल्भस्य स्वल्पज्ञेनान्तवाप्तिना ॥  
उक्तेति विषये वङ्गे फरीदपुरमण्डले ।  
कवेर्वैद्याग्रगण्यस्य यज्ञेश्वरस्य सत्पितुः ॥  
मातुश्च कुसुमाद्यायाः कुमार्यास्तनुजन्मना ।  
दीनेशेन ह्यतिश्रेयं कायस्थेन विरचते ॥

### PREFACE.

Tantric studies have not much progressed in India. The author of the present monograph originally approached the Tantra literature as a student of ancient and medieval Indian geography, although the subject under discussion in the following pages soon proved to be equally interesting from the viewpoint of the religious life of India. A Tantra text on the Śākta Pīthas, entitled *Pīthanirṇaya* or *Mahāpīthanirūpana*, has been edited here with notes and an attempt has been made in that connection to trace the history of the Pītha conception with reference not only to the Puranic legend in theoretical explanation of the origin of the Pīthas but also to the real basis of the conception itself. No less than six manuscripts and four published sources have been utilized in editing the *Pīthanirṇaya* (*Mahāpīthanirūpana*). A reconstructed text of the original work has been given in an Appendix, while a large number of relevant texts has been quoted either in the notes or in the Appendixes. The author has also discussed, however summarily, the location of several hundreds of *Ārthas* or holy places, mentioned in various works as Pīthas. Much, unfortunately, still remains to be done in this direction. Any suggestion from the readers for the improvement of the work will be carefully considered and gratefully acknowledged.

The author is extremely thankful to Prof H<sup>•</sup>C Raychaudhuri and Dr J N Banerjea of the Calcutta University, who have taken interest in the preparation of the monograph and have offered some valuable suggestions. His thanks are also due to Drs R C Majumdar, I B Banerji

and B K Ghosh for some help and suggestions. Mr S K Saraswati has laid the author under a debt of gratitude by lending him a valuable manuscript (MS G) of the *Pīthanūrnaya* from his own collection. As, however, the manuscript was received after the monograph had been ready for the press, it has been utilized mainly in the notes on the text and in re-constructing the probable original text of the work for Appendix I-A.

The author thanks the authorities and management of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.

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## INTRODUCTION

### *The Pīthanirṇaya or Mahāpīthanirūpana*

There are three manuscripts of a very small work entitled *Pīthanirṇaya* or *Mahāpīthanirūpana* (Nos 196, 3400 and 5303) in the Government Collection of the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. The work describes the fifty-one Pīthas (literally, altars or seats)<sup>1</sup> or places of pilgrimage, considered to be the favourite resorts of the mother-goddess who is variously known as Devī, Śakti, Durgā, Pārvatī, Umā, Ambikā, Aparnā, Kālī, Gaurī, etc., and is represented in Indian mythology as the wife of the great god Śiva.<sup>2</sup> The Pīthas are mentioned together with the names of particular forms of the Devī and of the accompanying Bhairava (form of Śiva) associated with each of them. It is admitted in the text that it forms a section of a Tantra work entitled *Tantracūdāmanī*. Such works as the *Śabdakalpadrūma* (1822-52) and the *Prānatosanī Tantra* (1820), which quote the same text of the descriptive list of fifty-one Pīthas, also ascribe it to the *Tantracūdāmanī*. The Bengali poem *Annadāmangala* (1752) by Bhāratacandra refers its section on the 'fifty-one' Pīthas, although it actually mentions only forty-two names of holy places and does not

<sup>1</sup> In early times altars (*pīthas*) appear to have been used as objects of aniconic worship. Sacred spots where particular Yogins or ascetics meditated and succeeded in attaining to *siddhi* or perfection are regarded as *Pītha* or *Siddhapītha*. The *Sarvāṇandataranginī* refers to Mehāra, a Parganā in the Tippera District, as a Pītha-sthala, because Sarvānanda attained his Tantric *siddhi* there.

<sup>2</sup> The different names of the mother-goddess appear to have originally indicated different tribal deities who were afterwards identified with the wife of Śiva-Paśupati (Vedic Rudra), a pre-Aryan god, known to have been worshipped by the Mohenjodaro people. *Devī* means the 'goddess par excellence'. *Śakti* (force) and *Ādyā Śakti* (the primeval force) indicate the power underlying creation and the responsible for the universal order, the first name being often applied to the power of the different gods. The name *Śakti* is also applied to the female organ worshipped by the Śāktas (devotees of the mother-goddess) just as the Śaivas adore the Phallus of Śiva, i.e. Śiva in the form of the Phallus, cf. Apte, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, s.v., also *yonistotra* quoted in *Des Cat Sans MSS*, R A S B, VIII, p. 806.

भगरूपा जगन्माया (माता) दृष्टिस्थितिलयान्विता ।

दशविद्यास्वरूपात्मा योनिर्नो पातु सर्वदा ॥ See *infra*, Appendix VI

The names *Durgā* and *Pārvatī* emphasize their relation with inaccessible mountain regions (especially the Himālaya of which the Indian mother-goddess is conceived as a daughter) and suggest that these were originally names of deities worshipped by mountaineers (cf. Śiva's name *Gurīśa* meaning a dweller of the mountains). The names *Umā* (cf. Ommo on the coins of Huvīska) and *Ambikā* are derived from the Dravidian word *amma* (mother) in the sense of the universal mother. *Aparnā* signifies the deity 'who is without her leaf-cloth', i.e. naked, nakedness being one of the striking characteristics of the Indian mother-goddess. She must have originally been worshipped by a tribe such as the Nagna-Sabara (the naked Sabaras) of the *Bṛhatsamhitā*, just as the Buddhist deity Parnaśabari was undoubtedly associated with the Parna-Sabaras (the leaf-clad Sabaras) of the same work. See *J K H R S*, I, pp. 87-88. *Kālī* or the dark-complexioned deity may have been the goddess of some dark-skinned pre-Dravidian tribe, but the name may not be entirely unconnected with the conception of *Kāla* (time or death) with which Śiva is identified. *Gaurī* means the white-complexioned goddess and possibly points to her original worship among the Mongoloid xanthoderms of the Himalayan region. The name *Mahāmāyā* apparently represents the mother-goddess as the spirit guiding the magician priests of primitive peoples. The name was later given a popular interpretation. Of other names like *Yogamāyā*, *Kātyāyanī*, etc., the first means a deified lady or a family or tribal goddess (Aryan?), means 'a middle-aged widow in red clothes'. Cf. *Dākṣāyanī*, *Kauśikī*. She is also called the 'maiden', the 'angry', or 'fierce' one and 'death' (*Kālanidrā*).



follow the order in which the Pīthas are mentioned in the list of the *Pīthanirṇaya*, to the *Mantracūdāmanī Tantra* which would appear to be a mistake for *Tantracūdāmanī*<sup>1</sup> The library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses a manuscript of the Tantra text entitled *Tantracūdāmanī* (No I, F3), but, although it gives a list of the Pīthas (p 178) in connection with the later form of a Tantric ritual known as *Pīthanyāsa*, that has little to do with the text of the *Pīthanirṇaya*. As the *Pīthanirṇaya* or *Mahāpīthanirṇaya*, avowedly a part of the *Tantracūdāmanī*, cannot be traced in the Tantra of this name in the Society's library, one has to suggest alternatively either that there are more than one Tantric text entitled *Tantracūdāmanī* and the *Pīthanirṇaya* belonged to a different work of this name, or that the ascription of the *Pīthanirṇaya* to the *Tantracūdāmanī*, although it is supported by various sources, is without any real foundation. It is, however, very probable that the author of the *Pīthanirṇaya* wanted to credit his small work with a stamp of authority by falsely claiming it to be a part of an earlier Tantra entitled *Tantracūdāmanī* mentioned in the encyclopaedia of Tantric knowledge known as the *Tantrasāra* (pp 515, 915). This is possibly suggested by the uncertainty felt by some writers about the name of the source of the *Pīthanirṇaya*, variously given as the *Tantracūdāmanī*, *Mantracūdāmanī*, *Candracūdāmanī*, *Bhāvacūdāmanī* and *Pīthamālā* (*vide infra*, pp 42, note 2, 58, note 10)

#### *Date of its Composition*

The text of the *Pīthanirṇaya* or *Mahāpīthanirṇaya*, which is silent as to the date of its composition, seems to have been prepared in the late medieval period. The number of the recognized Pīthas given as fifty-one probably points to the seventeenth or the eighteenth century (*vide infra*, pp 23-24). But the problem of its date is involved in a bigger question

<sup>1</sup> Cf Vangavāsi ed., p 42 *आमि कश्चि मन्त्रचूडामणितन्त्र मत।* A few manuscripts of the work in question read *Bhāvacūdāmanī* or *Candracūdāmanī* in place of *Tantracūdāmanī*. The *Rāyamālā* (a Bengali chronicle of the kings of Tipperah), *Lahara* I, ascribed usually to the middle of the fifteenth century, quotes verse 18 of the *Pīthanirṇaya* (*Mahāpīthanirṇaya*) but refers it to the *Pīthamālā Tantra* which seems to be found in some manuscripts as the name of this small work or that of its source. No such manuscripts are, however, known to us. The *Rāyamālā* says,

दक्षकन्या सती अङ्ग पतन येस्थाने ।  
महापौठनिर्णय मुनि बलिजे पुराणे ॥  
शिववाक्य पौठमाला तन्त्रे प्रमाण ।  
येइ राज्ये येइ अङ्ग येइ पौठस्थान ॥  
येइ राज्ये एक देवी भैरव आर जन ।  
दुइ नामे पौठस्थान करे निरूपण ॥  
सतीर दक्षिण पद पड़े जिपुराते ।  
जिपुरासुन्दरी ख्याति जिपुर भूमिते ॥  
जिपुरेश नामे शिव जिपुरा राज्येते ।

It will be clear from our discussion on the text of the *Pīthanirṇaya* (*vide infra*) that the above passage of the *Rāyamālā* could have been written only after the middle of the eighteenth century. It cannot be assigned to the fifteenth century as it follows interpolations in a work written not much earlier than the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Bhāratacandra's section on the Pīthas, styled *Pīthamālā*, may have given rise to the name of an imaginary *Pīthamālā Tantra*.

regarding the origin and evolution of the conception of the Pīthas with special reference to their recognized number in different works of various periods

### *An Ancient Legend*

There is a legend offering a mythological explanation of the origin of the Pīthas. The earlier versions have nothing, however, to do with the Pīthas. The germ of the legend can be traced in the *Rgveda* (X, 61, 5-7), but it received its final form in the latest *Purānas* and *Tantras* assignable to the late-medieval period. The Rgvedic tradition about the incestuous relation of a father with his daughter was elaborated in the *Brāhmanas* such as the *Śatapatha* (*Mādhyaṇdina* version, I, vii, 4, 1-8, cf. II, 1, 2, 9, *Kāṇva* version, II, vii, 2, 1-8, I, 1, 2, 5-6) and *Antareya* (III, 33-34), cf. also *Tāndyamahābrāhmaṇa*, VIII, 11, 10-11.<sup>1</sup> According to the story found in these *Brāhmanas*, once Prajāpati, identified with *Yajña* or sacrifice, committed incest with his own daughter Dyaus or Ūsas. Disgusted at this vile act of their father, the gods approached Rudra and requested him to pierce Prajāpati with his arrow. Rudra discharged an arrow at Prajāpati whereupon the latter's *retas* (germinal fluid) fell upon the ground. As Prajāpati represents sacrifice itself and as no part of his body could be thrown away without being utilized in the performance of sacrifice, the gods first took Prajāpati's *retas* to Bhaga who sits on the southern side of the sacrificial ground. Bhaga looked at the thing and at once his eyes were burned. The gods then took it to Pūṣan who, on tasting it, lost his teeth. The concluding part of the story is unnecessary for our purpose. But the first portion of the legend is found a little developed in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (II, 1), according to which Prajāpati, while performing a sacrifice, did not offer the requisite share of offerings to Rudra who thereupon 'seizing and piercing it (*Yajña* or *Yajñāṅga*) cut off a portion from it'. A look at it is said to have made Bhaga blind and Pūṣan toothless.

### *Its Development into the Dakṣa-yajña Story*

The same legend later (sometime before the rise of the Guptas in the fourth century A.D.) developed into the well-known story of the destruction of the sacrifice of Dakṣa Prajāpati by the god Śiva, also called Rudra. The earliest form of the legend of *Dakṣa-yajña-nāśa* is probably to be traced in the *Mahābhārata* (XII, chapters 282-83, cf. *Brahma Purāna*, ch. 39) and a slightly modified form of the same story is found in many of the *Purānas* (*Matsya*, ch. 12, *Padma*, *Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa*, ch. 5, *Kūrma*, I, ch. 15, *Brahmaṇḍa*, ch. 31, etc.) as well as in the *Kumārasambhava* (I, 21) of Kālidāsa who flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries and adorned the court of the Gupta Vikramādityas. According to this modified version of the legend, the mother-goddess, who was the wife of Śiva, was in the form of Satī one of the daughters of Dakṣa Prajāpati. Dakṣa was celebrating a great sacrifice for which neither Satī nor Śiva was invited. Satī, however, went to her father's sacrifice uninvited, but was greatly insulted by Dakṣa. As a result of this ill-treatment, Satī is said to have died by *yoga* or of a broken heart, or, as Kālidāsa says, she put herself into fire and perished. In the *Mahābhārata* version of the story, referred to above, the wife of Śiva is only responsible for pointing out, to her husband, Dakṣa's impertinence in disregarding the great god, but she is neither said to have been Dakṣa's

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II

daughter nor to have died at Dakṣa's house as a result of the latter's ill-treatment. It will be seen that the two strains of the legend as found in the *Brāhmaṇas*, viz Prajāpati insulting his own daughter and disregarding Rudra-Śiva, have both been cleverly accommodated in the story of the *Purāṇas*. When the news of Sati's death reached her husband, Śiva is said to have become furious and hastened to the scene with his numerous attendants. The sacrifice of Prajāpati Dakṣa was completely destroyed Śiva, according to some of the sources, decapitated Dakṣa who was afterwards restored to life and thenceforward acknowledged the superiority of Śiva to all gods. According to some subversions of the story, Dakṣa was punished by the demon Virabhadra, created for the purpose by Śiva. The hand of a sectarian devotee of Śiva, eager to glorify his tutelary deity, is quite clear in the above story. It also shows that Śiva was originally a non-Aryan deity who later secured a prominent position in the Brahmanical pantheon. That, however, the story of *Dakṣa-yajña-nāśa* evolved out of the old legend about Prajāpati found in the *Brāhmaṇas* is proved by the fact that the Puranic account (cf *Bhāgavata*, IV, 5, 20-21, *Kālikā*, XVII, 42-49, etc.)<sup>1</sup> of the destruction of Dakṣa Prajāpati's sacrifice often refers to the blinding of Bhaga's eyes and the breaking of Pūṣan's (or, Sūrya's) teeth, incidents pointedly mentioned in the *Brāhmaṇas*. The sixteenth century Bengali poet Mukundarāma, in the *Dakṣa-yajña-bhanga* section of his *Candimangala* (Calcutta University ed., I, p. 48) speaks of the blindness of Bhaga and the toothlessness of Pūṣan, both said to have been caused by Virabhadra on behalf of Śiva.<sup>2</sup>

*Further Development of the Legend to explain the Origin of the Pīthas*

In still later times, probably about the earlier part of the medieval period,<sup>3</sup> a new legend was engrafted to the old story simply for the sake of explaining the origin of the Pīthas. According to certain later *Purāṇas* and *Tantras* (*Devībhāgavata*, VII, ch. 30, *Kālikā Purāṇa*, ch. 18, etc.), Śiva became inconsolable at the death of his beloved wife Sati, and, after the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice, he wandered over the earth in mad dance with Sati's dead body on his shoulder (or, head). The gods now became anxious to free Śiva from his infatuation and made a conspiracy to deprive him of his wife's dead body. Thereupon Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śaṇi entered the dead body by *yoga* and disposed of it gradually and

<sup>1</sup> Cf

‘विशन्तमेव त यज्ञे प्रथमं पुरतो भग-।\*\*\*

तमागतमभिप्रेक्ष्य भगोऽपि भृशरोषितः ।

अङ्गुल्यप्रचारेण तस्य नेत्रे अघान ज् ॥\*\*\*

हसतस्तस्य स्वर्यस्य क्रोधेन दृषभध्वजः ।

दन्तान् करप्रचारेण शतयामास वक्रत ॥ (कालिकापुराण)

For the evidence of the *Bhāgavata*, see Appendix II

<sup>2</sup>

भगेर लोचन

करिखा मोचन

पूषार भाडिलान दन्त । (चण्डीमङ्गल)

<sup>3</sup> The *Brahmavivarta Purāṇa*, an old work known to Al-Bīrūnī, contains interpolations of a date later than the Muslim occupation of eastern India where the *Purāṇa* was modified, cf I, 10, 121 referring to the caste called Jolā (from *Julāhā*, weaver) said to have originated from Mleccha (Mahomedan) father and a girl of the Indian weaver caste. *Op cit.*, IV, 43, 25, referring to Siddha-pīthas associated with Sati's limbs should similarly be assigned to a date not earlier than the 14th or 15th century. For the date of the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, see *infra*, p. 12, note 5

bit by bit The places where pieces of Sati's dead body fell are said to have become Pīthas, i.e. holy seats or resorts of the mother-goddess, in all of which she is represented to be constantly living in some form together with a Bhairava, i.e. a form of her husband Śiva. According to a modified version of this story, it was Vishnu who, while following Śiva, cut Sati's dead body on Śiva's shoulder or head piece by piece by his arrows or his discus. The story of the association of particular limbs of the mother-goddess with the Śākta *tīrthas*, which may have some relation with the Tantric ritual called *Pīthanyāsa*,<sup>1</sup> belongs, as already pointed out, to the latest stage in the development of an ancient tale. But the story may have some connection with Buddhist legends regarding the worship of Buddha's corporeal relics and the construction of *Stūpas* in order to enshrine them (cf. *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp. 84, 102ff, 120, etc.) as well as with those concerning the various manifestations of Buddha in the Jambudvīpa (cf. the list of 56 countries in the *Candragarbhasūtra*, I C, VIII, pp. 34-35, *BEFEO*, V, p. 261f). One cannot also fail to recall in this connection Plutarch's version of the Egyptian Osiris myth. Osiris's brother Set put Osiris in a wooden coffin which he nailed up and cast into the sea, the waves bore it to Syria where, long after, Osiris's sister and wife Isis found it and took the body to Egypt, there unfortunately Set 'found it and scattered the bones far and wide, whence came the innumerable relics of Osiris shown to the faithful of later days in the temples of Egypt' (*Camb. Anc. Hist.*, I, p. 332). The mythological interpretation of the genesis of the Pīthas, however, has little bearing on the real origin and development of the Pītha conception.

*Conception of the Yonikunda and Stanakunda associated with that of the Linga*

The idea of the Pītha, associated with certain limbs of the mother-goddess, seems to be essentially connected with that of the Linga or phallus. The worship of the *Linga* of the great god Śiva originated from the conception of the god as the father or procreator. But in the matter of the procreation of beings the *Yoni* (*pudendum muliebrem*) of the mother-goddess should naturally be regarded as much important as the *Linga* of the father-god. Both the Father-god and the Mother-goddess were worshipped by the pre-Aryan peoples of India.<sup>2</sup> The objects discovered at Mohenjodaro show that Śiva and Sakti were worshipped not only in the human form but also in the symbolic form of the *Linga* and the *Yoni*, the former representing procreation and virility and the latter motherhood and fertility (Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization*, I, pp. 52ff). The *Rgveda* (VII, 21, 5, X, 99, 3) speaks in a deprecatory manner of a class of people called *śśna-deva* in which we have probably the earliest literary reference to the worshippers of the phallus. The actual worship of the *Yoni* of the Divine Mother is referred to in certain later Tantric texts such as the *Yonitānttra* (cited *infra*). It is interesting to note that one of the popular names of

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Śabdakalpadrūma*, s.v. *nyāsa*, cf. *anganyāsa* (touching limbs with the hand accompanied by appropriate *mantras*) and *sādhānyāsa* (six ways of touching the body with mystical *mantras*) from which the *pīthanyāsa* seems to have later evolved. Originally certain limbs were mentioned in connection with a Tantric ritual in which the names of the Pīthas were afterwards introduced. In explaining *pīthanyāsa*, the *Vācaspatya* says पौडदेवतानां आधारशक्तिप्रकृत्यादीनां प्रणवादिनमोनेन हृदये न्यासभेदे तन्त्रसार, etc. The association of the limbs of the *sādhaka* with certain localities may have given rise to the belief regarding the Pīthas arising from particular limbs of the mother-goddess.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, Appendix VI.

the mother-goddess is *Bhagavatī* (literally, a deity possessing the *bhaga*) As the word *bhaga* is a synonym of *Yoni*, it is possible to suggest (although it is not easy to prove it in the present state of our knowledge) that the expression *Bhagavatī* originally indicated the female deity who was thought to have given birth to all creatures, and that the epithet *Bhagavat*, applied to Śiva and other gods, is merely a masculine form afterwards coined on the basis of *Bhagavatī*. It should also be pointed out that hills or mountain-peaks roughly resembling a human phallus were regarded in ancient times as the *svayambhū* (natural) *Linga* of Śiva. There is reason to believe that tanks or pools of a particular shape were often conceived as the *Yoni* of the mother-goddess. A pair of hills or peaks of the shape and position of female breasts appear sometimes to have been likewise regarded as the *Stana* of the goddess, cf. Kālidāsa's description (*Raghuvamśa*, IV, 51)<sup>1</sup> of the Malaya and Dardura mountains in the Pāndya country as the two breasts of the lady that is the southern quarter. Water coming out of the springs on such hills could be very naturally taken to be the milk of the mother-goddess. All the three conceptions, viz. those of the *Linga* of the father-god and the *Yoni* and *Stana* of the mother-goddess, are based on the bearing the three particular limbs have on the birth and growth of beings as well as on the resemblance that particular natural objects may have with certain human limbs. An idea of the importance the Indians of ancient times must have attached to a bath in the *Yoni-kunda* and to the drinking of the water of the *Stanakunda* may be formed from another ritual known as the *Hvanyagarbha-mahādāna*, which was conceived in imitation of the *Yonikunda* of the mother-goddess. A pious prince desiring merit and willing to perform the *mahādāna* is sometimes found to have made a *hvanya-garbha* or 'golden womb' which was a big pot made of gold and was three cubits in height. He then entered the pot, of which the priests performed the ceremonies of *garbhādāna*, *pumsavana* and *simantonmayana*, as they would do in the case of an ordinary pregnant woman. The prince was afterwards taken out of the 'golden womb' and the *jātakarman* and other necessary functions were performed by the priests as if the prince was a newly born child. Thereafter the prince declared, 'O the best of gods, previously I was given birth to by my mother and had only the qualities of an earthly creature, but now owing to my rebirth from your womb I have a celestial body' (cf. *Suc Sāt*, pp 52-54). The celebration of the *Hvanyagarbha-mahādāna* was adapted from a ceremonial practice of the devotees of the mother-goddess by the worshippers of the male god Viṣṇu. Just like the concept of the *Linga*, that of the *Yoni* and *Stana* of the mother-goddess appears to be very old. The history of the socio-religious life in ancient India suggests that these conceptions, like many others, are due to non-Aryan influence on the culture of the Indo-Aryans.<sup>2</sup>

*Some Early Tīrthas associated with the Limbs of the Mother-goddess*

It seems that the association of the *Yoni* and *Stana* of the mother-goddess with certain localities belongs to the earliest stage of the history of the Pīthas. The *Tīrtha-yātrā* section in the Vanaparvan of the *Mahābhārata*, which is probably earlier than the rise of the Guptas in the fourth century A.D., refers at least to three Śākta holy places associated with the *Yoni* and *Stana* of Śakti. These are the *Yonikundas* at the Bhīmāsthāna near the Pañchanada (Punjab) and on the hill or mountain-peak called Udyatparvata, and the *Stanakunda* on the peak known as Gaurīśikhara.

<sup>1</sup> सनाविव दिशस्यस्य शैलौ मलयदुन्दुर्ले ।

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, Appendix VI

(cf *Mahābhārata*, III, 82, 83-85, III, 84, 93-95 and 151-53)<sup>1</sup> The name of the Gaurīśikhara (literally, the peak of Gaurī, a form of the mother-goddess) probably connects the peak with the Himalayas<sup>2</sup> The *Mahābhārata* seems to locate both the Gaurīśikhara and the Udyatparvata in eastern India, the latter probably in the Gayā region Their exact location is not beyond doubt, although it is tempting to identify the Gaurīśikhara with the peak of that name placed by the *Pīthanirnaya* in the Kāmarūpa country in the Gauhati region of Assam The Bhīmāsthāna (literally, the resort of Bhīmā, a form of the mother-goddess) was situated on the Karamar not far from Shahbazgarhi in the Peshawar District of the North-Western Frontier Province The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna* (ch 91, vv 45-46), an early Śākta work, speaks of the goddess Bhīmādevī of the Himācala (cf also Appendix II, v 22 *infra*) In the seventh century, this holy *tīrtha* belonging to the ancient country of Gandhāra (Rawalpindi-Peshawar region) was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hsien Tsang According to the pilgrim, 'About 50 *li* (nearly 8 miles) to the north-east of Palusha was a great mountain which had a likeness of Maheśvara's spouse Bhīmādevī of dark blue stone According to local accounts this was a natural image (*svayambhū mūrti*) of the goddess, it exhibited prodigies and was a great resort of devotees from all parts of India, to true believers, who after fasting seven days

1

(a) अथ पञ्चनदं गला नियतो नियताशन ।

पञ्चयज्ञानवाप्नोति क्रमशो येऽनुकीर्तिताः ॥

ततो गच्छेत् राजेन्द्र भीमाया स्थानमुत्तमम् ॥

तत्र खाला तु योऽन्यां वै नरो भारतसत्तम ॥

देव्या पुत्रो भवेद् राजन् रत्नकुण्डलविपद्य ॥

गवां शतसहस्रस्य फलं प्राप्नोति मानव ॥

(b) उद्यन्तश्च ततो गच्छेत् पर्वतं गौतमादितम् ।

सावित्र्यास्तु पदं तत्र दृश्यते भरतर्षभ ॥

तत्र सन्ध्यासुपासीत ब्राह्मण सत्रितव्रत ।

तेन क्षुपास्ता भवति सन्ध्या द्वादशवार्षिकी ॥

योनिद्वाराश्च तत्रैव विद्युत भरतर्षभ ।

तत्राभिगम्य सुच्यते पुरुषो योनिस्फुटात् ॥

कृष्णशृङ्गावभौ पक्षौ गयायां यो वसेन्नरः ।

पुनात्यासप्तमं राजन् कुलं नास्त्यत्र सशयः ॥

(c) ततो गच्छेत् धर्मज्ञ तीर्थसेवनतत्पर ।

शिखरं वै महादेव्या गौर्याल्लोकविश्रुतम् ॥

समाश्न्य नरत्रेष्ठ स्नानकुण्डेषु सविशेषत् ।

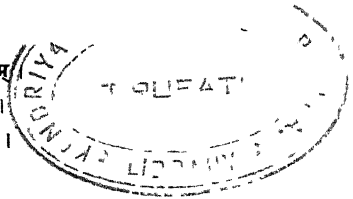
स्नानकुण्डमुपसृज्य वाजपेयफलं लभेत् ॥

तत्राभिषेकं कुर्वाण पितृदेवार्चने रतः ।

हयमेधमवाप्नोति शक्रलोकश्च गच्छति ॥

The same section of the *Mahābhārata* (III, ch 83, verses 54, 58, 94, 99, 102, etc.) speaks of other places of pilgrimage, designated Mātṛ-tīrtha or Devī-tīrtha apparently named after the mother-goddess It is unknown whether they were associated with any of the limbs of the goddess

<sup>2</sup> Cf *Gaurī-guru* (father of Gaurī), an epithet of the Himālaya in *Raghu*, II, 26, *Kṛitā*, V, 21, Badal pillar inscription, verse 5 (*Gauḍalekhamālā*, p 27), etc



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prayed to her, the goddess sometimes showed herself and answered prayers. At the foot of the mountain was a temple to Maheśvaradeva (Śiva) in which the ash-smearing *Tīrthikas* (Pāśupata Yogins) <sup>1</sup> performed much worship' (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, I, p. 221) <sup>2</sup> The account of

<sup>1</sup> In his description of Benares, Huen Tsang again refers to the devotees of Śiva some of whom 'cut off their hair, others made it into a top-knot, some went about naked and smeared themselves with ashes, they were persevering in austerities seeking release from mortal existence' (*loc cit*, II, p. 47). For the ash-smearing ascetics, see *Bṛhatsamhitā*, ch. 60, verse 19

विष्णोर्भागवतान् मगाश्च सवितु शम्भो' सभस्मद्विजान्  
मानृणामपि सादमण्डलविदो विप्रान् विदुर्ब्रह्मण ।  
शक्त्यान् सर्वद्वितस्य शान्तमनसो नग्नान् जिनानां विदु-  
र्यं य देवमुपाश्रिता स्वविधिना तैस्सस्य कार्या क्रिया ॥

While annotating this verse, Albīrūnī (*op cit*, p. 121) refers to the devotees of Mahādeva (Sambhu Śiva) as 'a class of saints, anchorites with long hair, who cover their skin with ashes, hang on their persons the bones of dead people, and swing in the pools'. They are the Śiva-bhāgavatas described by Patañjali in his commentary on Pāṇini, V, 2, 76, and were related to the Kāpālikas known from works like the *Pañcatantra* as characterized by carrying skulls of men in the form of garlands and eating and drinking from them. For this sect, of the *Mattavilāsa-prahasana* attributed to Pallava Mahendravarman I (c. 600–35 A.D.), Bhavabhūti's *Mālātīmādhava* (eighth century), an Early Calukya inscription, dated 639 A.D. (referring to the worship of the god Śiva Kāpāleśvara, i.e. lord of the wearers of skull-garlands, and to the maintenance of the Mahāvratins, i.e. observers of the great vow characteristic of the Kāpālikas or Kālāmukhas, who resided in the temple of the god), etc. See R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism, Saivism, etc.* (Poona ed.), pp. 165ff.

Bhavabhūti's *Mālātīmādhava* speaks of a woman styled *yoginī*, who performed the *Kāpālikavratā* at the Śrīparvatā and illustrates the *vratā* by the horrible activities of Aghoraghanta and his female disciple Kāpālakundalā who are represented as coming from the Śrīparvatā and staying near the *mahāśmaśāna* (at Padmāvati in the Gwalior State) containing a temple of Cāmundā to whom they were going to offer the girl Mālātī in sacrifice. This eighth century authority not only testifies to the prevalence of human sacrifice before the mother goddess, but also to the interesting fact that the Kāpālikas were devoted to both Śiva and Śakti. The practices of the Kāpālikas are often called *Vīrācāra* and *Vāmācāra*.

'From the *Mattavilāsa-prahasana*, it becomes clear that, to a Kāpālika, the *Kapāla* is as essential as is a sacred thread to a Brāhmana. If he loses it, he should provide himself with another in a stated time. He should cover his body with ashes and make himself hideous, and drink liquor from the skull of a human being. One of the articles of faith is that the effect always resembles, to a certain extent, the cause, therefore from the practice of austerities in this life one cannot obtain bliss in another life, since austerities and bliss are of opposite nature. The Kāpālikas carried in addition to the *Kapāla* a cow's horn both for blowing during their worship and drinking from. The people of this faith associated freely with women Kāpālikas'. Cf. R. Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas*, pp. 94–95. The *Kūrma Purāna* (cf. I, 16, 117, etc.) distinguishes the Kāpālikas from the Pāśupatas as well as from the other Śaiva sects and says that 'the Pāśupatas hate those sects which are guided by the Tantras' (R. C. Hazra, *Puranic Rites*, p. 64, also *Sūtra-samuccaya*, 201). Cf. the words *pākhanda* and *pākhanda* in the sense possibly of the *Kapāla* in the *Mālātīmādhava*, V, 24 and the *Mūlāsarā* on Yāj., III, 6. The *Kurmas* (III, 267) refers to Śrīparvatā as a centre of the Pāśupatas and also to their existence in Kashmir (I, 17, V, 404). The doctrines and practices of the Pāśupatas (distinguished from the Kāpālikas) as described in the *Kūrma Purāna* show that they were not extremists like the latter with whom they were sometimes identified. For the *Ātharvaśra*s *Upasadd* on the early doctrine of the Pāśupatas, see Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism, etc.*, pp. 158ff.

<sup>2</sup> While describing the Gandhāra country, Huen Tsang elsewhere (Watters, *op cit*, p. 215) says that at the distance of 50 *li* (about 8 miles) to the north-west of certain monasteries (including the Aśoka *stūpa* at Puṣkalāvati, modern Mirziyarat-Charsadda area near Peshawar) there was a *stūpa* at the place where the Buddha converted the 'Mother of Demons' (the Buddhist goddess Hārīti) and that the people of the country worshipped this Demon-mother and prayed to her for offspring. The deity was apparently an aspect of the mother-goddess. The *stūpa* is now called Sāre Mākhe Dherī.

the foreign traveller points clearly to the importance and popularity of the ancient Bhīmā *tīrtha*. The existence of the temple of Śiva at the foot of Bhīmā's peak probably suggests that the association of a Bhairava with the Śākta Pītha is earlier than the seventh century. But it is not definitely known whether the Bhīmāsthāna, Uḍalparvata and Gaurīśikhara were styled Pīthas in the technical Tantric sense of the term and whether they were counted among the recognized Pīthas in the days of Huen-Tsang.<sup>1</sup>

#### . The Tradition about Four Pīthas

Some of the early *Tantras* refer to four Pīthas. This *Catuspītha* conception may have been associated with a conception of the Sahajayāna school of the Buddhists, according to which one can rise to eternal bliss from sexual pleasure. A Sahajayāna text entitled *Catuspīthatantra* and its commentaries (one of which was copied in 1145 A.D., cf. H. P. Sastri, *Cat. Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, II, p. viii) speak of the four Pīthas as Ātmapiṭha, Parapiṭha, Yogapiṭha and Catuspītha, and deal with the various kinds of Vajrasattva's intercourse with the Cāturiṇīs, such as Prajñāpāramitā and others. This philosophical concept of the *Catuspītha* was either the cause or the effect of the early recognition of four holy places as Pīthas.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, Appendix VI. For the association of Śiva with the Pīthas, cf. *Devī-bhāgavata*, Bk. VII, ch. 30, verses 44-50.

अपश्यत्ता सती वक्रौ दृष्टमानान् चित्कलाम् ।  
 स्तब्धेऽप्यारोपयामास चा सतीति वदन् मुञ्च ॥  
 बभ्राम भान्तचित्त सन्नादशेषे शुङ्कर ।  
 तदा ब्रह्मादयो देवास्त्रिन्नामापुरनुत्तमाः ॥  
 विष्णुस्तत्परया तत्र धनुषदाम्य मागधै ।  
 चिच्छेदावयवान् सत्यास्तत्स्थानेषु तेष्वपतन् ॥  
 तत्तत्स्थानेषु तदासीन्नानावृत्तिर्धरो हर ।  
 उवाच च ततो देवान् स्थानेष्वेतेषु ये शिवाम् ॥  
 भजन्ति परया भक्त्या तेषां किञ्चिद् दुर्लभम् ।  
 नित्य सन्निहिता यत्र निजाङ्गेषु पराम्बिका ॥  
 स्थानेष्वेतेषु ये मर्त्या पुरस्सरणकर्मिणः ।  
 तेषां मन्त्राः प्रसिध्यन्ति मायावीज विशेषतः ॥  
 इत्युक्त्वा शुङ्करस्तेषु स्थानेषु विरह्यातुर ।  
 कालं निम्ये नृपयेष्ट कपथ्यानसमाधिभिः ॥

But the early association of Śakti and Śiva at Bhīmāsthāna does not prove that the story connecting certain *tīrthas* with Sati's limbs had already developed in the days of Huen Tsang. Cf. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 92n.

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to determine what relation the *Catuspītha* could have with the Cāturiṇīparvata near Jaipur in Orissa and with other Sahajayāna conceptions of 'four' of the Cāturiṇīnanda. The *Candamahārośanatantra* (Sastri, *Cat.*, pp. ix-x) is said to have been uttered by Vajrasattva (Buddha) when he was staying in the female organ of Vajradhātviśvari. The first verse uttered is

भावाभावविनिर्मुक्तश्चतुरानन्दतत्पर ।

निष्पृषस्वरूपोऽह सर्वसकल्पवर्जित ॥

*Caturananda*, i.e. the pleasures of four kinds, has been explained as embracing, kissing, pressing the breast, and pricking with the nails (i.e. imprinting nail-marks). These are said to last as long as the *thunderbolt* is in union with the *lotus*.



In the opinion of some writers, the *Hevajra Tantra* of the Buddhists was composed shortly before 693 A.D.<sup>1</sup> But according to Buddhist tradition, Padmavajra, author of the *Hevajra Tantra*, was the preceptor of Anangavajra, a son of king Gopāla<sup>2</sup> who founded the Pāla dynasty in Bengal about the middle of the eighth century A.D. If this tradition is to be accepted, the composition of the *Hevajra Tantra* may be assigned to the same century. This early work enumerates the following four holy regions as Pīthas (1) Jālandhara, (2) Oḍiyāna (Uddiyāna in the Swat valley),<sup>3</sup> (3) Pūrṇagiri and (4) Kāmarūpa.<sup>4</sup> Exactly the same tradition is followed in the *Kālikā Purāna* (ch. 64, 43-45)<sup>5</sup> according to which the four Pīthas were (1) Odra, seat of the goddess Kātyāyanī and god Jagannātha,<sup>6</sup> in the west, (2) Jālaśaila, seat of the goddess Candī and god Mahādeva in the north, (3) Pūrṇa or Pūrṇaśaila (Pūrṇagiri), seat of the goddess Pūrṇeśvarī and god Mahānātha, in the south, and (4) Kāmarūpa,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. Bhattacharya, *Sādhnamālā* (G. O. S.), II, p. xliii.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 1-11.

<sup>3</sup> The suggestion that Uddiyāna was situated in eastern India and is no other than Odra (Orissa) is unworthy of any serious consideration. Cf. Lévi, *Journ. As.*, 1915, pp. 105-10, P. C. Bagchi, *Studies in the Tantras*, I, pp. 37ff, 42. For some other unwarranted theories about the location of Uddiyāna, see *I. H. Q.*, XI, pp. 142ff, *J. As. R. S.*, V, pp. 14ff. For a discussion on the expressions *uddiyānabandha*, *jālandhara-bandha*, etc., see *J. Or. Ac.*, II, pp. 55-68.

<sup>4</sup>

Cf. पीठ जालन्धर ख्यात ओडियान तथैव च ।

पीठ पूर्णगिरि चैव कामरूपन्तथैव च ॥

quoted by Bagchi (*op. cit.*, p. 38) from the seventh Patala of the *Hevajra Tantra*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Vangavāsī ed., p. 410.

ओङ्गाख्य प्रथम पीठ द्वितीय जालशैलकम् ।

तृतीय पूर्णपीठन्तु कामरूप चतुर्थकम् ॥

ओङ्गपीठ पश्चिमे तु तथैवोद्देशर्यो शिवायम् ।

कात्यायनीं जगन्नाथमोद्देशश्च प्रपूजयेत् ॥

उत्तरे पूजयेत् पीठ प्रशस्त जालशैलकम् ।

जालेश्वर महादेव चण्डीं जालेश्वरीं तथा ॥

दक्षिणे पूर्णशैलन्तु तथा पूर्णेश्वरी शिवायम् ।

पूर्णनाथ महानाथ सरोजामय चण्डिकाम् ॥

पूजयेद्दमनी देवीं शान्तामपि तथा शिवायम् ।

कामरूप महापीठ तथा कामेश्वरीं शिवायम् ॥

नीलकण्ठ पर्वतत्रेष्ठ नाथं कामेश्वर तथा ।

पूजयेद्द्वारि पूर्वे तु क्रमादेतास्तु भैरवम् ॥

The *Kālikā Purāna*, quoted by Nānasyadeva (c. 1097-1133 A.D.) in his *Bharatabhāṣya* and by Aparārka (c. 1115-40 A.D.) and Ballālasena (c. 1159-85 A.D.), seems to have been originally incorporated in the *Rudrayāmala Tantra*, cf. *Des. Cat. Sans. MSS.*, R. A. S. B., VIII, p. 70. The *Purāna* (really an *Upa-Purāna*) is earlier than 1000 A.D. according to Gode, *J. O. R.*, X, pp. 289ff, *J. Or. Ac.*, II, p. 60. Cf. Hazra, *op. cit.*, p. 53, *infra*, p. 17, note 4. Some sections may, however, have been later added to the original *Purāna*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the god Jagannātha in the Puri temple in Orissa (Odra). For the confusion of Odra and Oḍiyāna, see *infra*.

seat of the deities Kāmeśvarī and Kāmeśvara<sup>1</sup> in the east. That *Odra* in the list is a mistake for *Uddiyāna* and that Jālaśaila is the same as Jālandhara are clear from another section of the same Purāna (ch 18, 42-44 and 49-51)<sup>2</sup> representing the goddesses Kātyāyanī and Candī as the presiding deities respectively of Uddiyāna and Jālandharagiri<sup>3</sup> Other Buddhist works such as the *Sādhana-mālā* (G O S, pp 453, 455) give the four names as (1) Odiyāna or Uddiyana, (2) Pūrnagiri, (3) Kāmarūpa or Kāmākhyā, and (4) Srihatta or Sirihattā. Srihatta has been substituted in this list

<sup>1</sup> Cf reference to Mahāgaurī (Kāmākhyā) and Kāmeśvara (on the Kāmākūta hill) in some early records of Assam, see *infra*. The identification of Mahāgaurī with Bhuvaneśī (*I H Q*, XXIII, p 324, *Kālikā P*, 62, 127) on the top of the Kāmākhyā hill is rendered doubtful by her association with Kāmeśvara. The boundaries of Kāmarūpa are indicated by the *Yoginītantra* (Patala XI) quoted in *Ep Ind*, XII, p. 68

नेपालस्य काञ्चनान्द्रि ब्रह्मपुत्रस्य सङ्गमम् ।  
 करतोया समारभ्य यावद्विष्णुवासिनीम् ॥  
 उत्तरस्या कुञ्जगिरि करतोया तु पश्चिमे ।  
 तीर्थश्रेष्ठा दिक्षु नदी पूर्वस्या गिरिकन्यके ॥  
 दक्षिणे ब्रह्मपुत्रस्य लाक्षाया सङ्गमावधि ।  
 कामरूप इति ख्यात सर्वशास्त्रेषु निश्चित ॥

This Kāñcana or Kañja Mount is probably the Kunchenjunga. The Diksu, which may be associated with Dikkaravāsini although the latter is located at Dikrang near Sadiya in north eastern Assam, is the modern Dikhu falling in the Brahmaputra near Sibsagar. The confluence of the Lākṣā (Lakhyā) and the Brahmaputra is in the Mymensing District. The Karatoyā which now runs through North Bengal and falls in the Yamunā in the Pabna District, was the western boundary of Kāmarūpa also according to Chinese sources. A manuscript of the *Yoginī Tantra* (R A S B, No I B 29, p 33) reads नेपालस्य च काञ्चद्रि । Some writers prefer the reading उत्तरस्या कुञ्जगिरि । For Kāmarūpa's four divisions (*Pīthas*), viz Kāma, Ratna, Bhadra or Suvarna and Saumāra, see Gait, *Hist As*, p 11. Kāmarūpa is also called Kubjikā Pītha (*Kālikā P*, 62, 58, etc)

<sup>2</sup> Cf Vangavāsī ed, pp 79-80

देवीकूटे पादयुग्मं प्रथमं न्यपतत् चिन्ती ।  
 उड्डियाने चोदयुग्मं द्वितीयं जगता तत ॥  
 कामरूपे कामगिरौ न्यपतद् योनिमण्डलम् ।  
 तत्रैव न्यपतद् भूमौ पूर्वतो नाभिमण्डलम् ॥  
 आलम्बरे स्नानयुगं स्वर्णहारविभूषितम् ।  
 असम्यगैव पूर्णगिरौ कामरूपान्तं शिरः ॥ \* \* \*  
 देवीकूटे महादेवो महाभागिति गीयते ।  
 सतीपादयुगे स्त्रीणां योगनिद्रा जगत्प्रभुः ॥  
 कात्यायनी चोड्डियाने कामाख्या कामरूपिणी (°रूपके) ।  
 पूर्णेश्वरी पूर्णगिरौ चण्डी आलम्बरे गिरौ ॥  
 पूर्वान्ते कामरूपस्य देवी दिक्करवासिनी ।  
 तथा ललितकान्तेति योगनिद्रा प्रगीयते ॥

For details of other Pīthas mentioned here, see *infra*, p 17. For the same confusion between Odra (placed in north-western India) and Uddiyāna in early literature, see *Mahābhārata*, II, 47, 19

<sup>3</sup> The location of the Odra (Orissa) country in the western part of India has also to be noted. This points actually to Uddiyāna in north-western India

for Jālandhara which, however, seems to have been recognized as one of the four Pithas even down to the late medieval period<sup>1</sup> Abul Fazl's '*Am-i-Akbari*', composed about the end of the sixteenth century at the court of the Mughal emperor Akbar (1556-1605), contains an interesting description of the Pitha near Nagarkot together with the legend about the origin of the four Pithas as known to the author In this connection Abul Fazl says, 'Nagarkot is a city situated on a hill, its fort is called Kangrah Near the town is the shrine of Mahāmāyā (a name of the Indian mother-goddess indicating "the goddess having great magical powers") which is considered as a manifestation of the divinity Pilgrims from distant parts visit it and obtain their desires Strange it is that in order that their prayers may be favourably heard, they cut out their tongues, with some it grow <sup>in a</sup> spot, with others after one or two days Although the medical <sup>possibility</sup> of growth in the tongue, yet in so short space of time it is sufficiently amazing In the Hindu mythology Mahāmāyā is said to be the wife of Mahādeva, and the learned of this creed represent by this name the energizing power of the deity It is said that on beholding the disrespect (shown to herself and her husband Śiva) she cut herself in pieces and her body fell in four places, her head and some of her limbs in the northern mountains of Kashmir near Kāmraj and these relics are called Śāradā other parts fell near Bijāpūr in the Deccan and are known as Tuljā (Turjā) Bhavānī Such portions as reached the eastern quarter near Kāmarūpa are called Kāmākhyā, and the remnant that kept its place is celebrated as Jālandharī which is this particular spot In the vicinity torch-like flames issue from the ground in some places, and others resemble the blaze of lamps There is a concourse of pilgrims and various things are cast into the flames with the expectation of obtaining temporal blessings Over them a domed temple has been erected and an astonishing crowd assembles therein The vulgar impute to miraculous agency what is simply a mine of brimstone' (Jarrett's trans, II, pp 312-14) The four Pitha-devīs recognized in the sixteenth century account are, therefore, (1) Śāradā at modern Sardi in northern Kashmir, (2) Tuljā Bhavānī in a locality in the medieval kingdom, the capital of which was at Bijapur in the southern part of the Bombay Presidency, (3) Kāmākhyā in Kāmarūpa, and (4) Jālandharī near Nagarkot in the Punjab Abul Fazl has substituted Kashmir for Uddiyāna He refers to Jvālāmukhī and not to the neighbouring Jālandhara Pitha<sup>2</sup> The Pitha that he

<sup>1</sup> For the tradition of the four Pithas, cf अयेदानीं प्रवक्ष्यामि जपार्थं पीठमुत्तमम् । पूर्णगिरिश्च प्रथममुड्डियान द्वितीयकम् ॥ जालन्धर तृतीयश्च कामरूप चतुर्थकम् । शक्ते सर्वेश्वरौ यत् पीठ पूर्णगिरि स्मृतम् । तस्या शिरश्च सुभगे उड्डियान प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ स्तनौ जालन्धर ज्ञेय कामरूप भगवत्या ॥ (*Samayācāra Tantra* quoted in the *Prānatosanī Tantra*, Vasumati ed, p 548), also पुष्पतीर्थे कुरुक्षेत्रे देवीपीठचतुष्टये । प्रयागे श्रीगिरौ काश्या कालाकाल न शोधयेत् ॥ (*Yāmala* quoted in the *Tantrasāra*, Vāṅgavāsī ed, p 40) Vide the two *Pīthatattvanyāsas* mentioning the four Pithas by name in the *Tantrasāra*, pp 419-20, 451-52 The Pūrnagiri Pitha is in these cases called *Uddīśanāthāt-maka* For a tradition about five Pithas accommodating the claim of both Jālandhara and Śrīhatta, cf षट्चक्र मेरुदण्डश्च उड्डियान तथैव च । जालन्धर कामरूप पूर्णचौव. (गिरि) श्रीचक्र ॥ quoted from the sixth Patala of the *Tattvasāra* in the *Prānatosanī Tantra*, pp 39 and 40

<sup>2</sup> For some foreign notices of Jvālāmukhī, see *II, p. 101*, s.v. *Jowalla Mookhee* In the third quarter of the fourteenth century, 'Afif (Elliot, *Hist Ind*, III, p. 318) mentions the idol Jvālāmukhī much worshipped by the

places in the Bijapur region may be the same as Pūrnagiri mentioned in the other texts. The shrine of Bhavānī stands at Tuljapur to the south of Osmanabad in the Hyderabad State. Such was the celebrity of this goddess that, when Sīvājī built the fort of Pratāpgarh near Javli, he set up there an image of his patron-deity Bhavānī as the Bhavānī of Tuljapur was beyond easy reach to him (J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, p. 32). It is well known that the Thuggees (both Hindus and Muslims), many of whose organizations belonged to Western India and the Deccan, were followers of the goddess Bhavānī irrespective of their personal religious beliefs. This fact points also to the importance of the mother-goddess in the religious life of that part of India. The Śāradā-maṭha on the borders of Kashmir is mentioned in such other works as the *Śaktisāṅgama Tantra* (I C, VIII, pp. 38, 49). About 1030 A.D., Albīrūnī says (Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 117), 'In inner Kashmir, about two or three days' journey from the capital in the direction towards the mountains of Bolor, there is a wooden idol called Śāradā, which is much venerated and frequented by pilgrims.' The temple of Śāradā is also mentioned in Kalhana's *Rāj tar*, VIII, 2556, 2706. The ruins of Sardi, where the shrine of Śāradā stood, lie at the confluence of the Kishenganga and Kankatori rivers. The old shrine is substituted by the late Śāradā temple at Gusha (old Ghosa) which is now visited by pilgrims. See Stein, *Rāj tar* (trans.), II, pp. 279-89.

*The Tantric Schools of North-Western and Eastern India.*

Two things are apparent from the accounts of the four Pīthas. In the first place, Kāmarūpa has a prominent place in all the lists of four. This fact may suggest that the 'four Pīthas' became unrivalled as a centre of Tantric culture by absorbing the popularity of the other Yoni *tīrthas* of ancient India at a fairly early date. The name of Kāmarūpa, with which that of the goddess Kāmākhyā (the original name probably being *Kāmā*, a shortened form of *Kāmarūpā*)<sup>1</sup> seems to be intimately associated, is mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription (middle of the fourth century A.D.) of Samudragupta. But the holy seat of the goddess near Gauhati in Assam does not appear to be mentioned in the *Tīrthayātrā* section of the Vana-parvan, even if the Stanakunda at Gaurīśikhara is located in the neighbourhood. The Chinese pilgrim Hsuen Tsang who lived for some time at the court of the Kāmarūpa king Bhāskaravarman (c. 600-50 A.D.) in the seventh century, is also silent about the goddess Kāmākhyā. It is, therefore, not improbable that the presiding deity of Kāmarūpa did not quite attain to her pre-eminence in the days of Hsuen Tsang.<sup>2</sup> Worship of the mother-goddess was, however, widely prevalent among some of the primitive tribes of ancient Assam. The following note on the religious life of the Chutiya of Assam throws interesting light on the subject. 'The religion of the Chutiya was a curious one. They worshipped various forms of Kālī \*with the aid, not of Brāhmanas, but of their tribal priests or Deoris. The favourite form in which they worshipped this deity was that of Kesāi

infidels and situated on the road to Nagarkot and says, 'Some of the infidels have reported that Sultān Firūz went specially to see this idol and held a golden umbrella over its head. Other infidels said that Sultān Muhammad Shāh bin Tughlak Shāh held an umbrella over this same idol, but this also is a lie.'

<sup>1</sup> The name of the goddess is traced to the Austic words *Kāmer* (demon), *Kāmost* (devil), *Komin* (grave), *Kamet* (corpse in Khasi), *Kamru* (a god of the Santals), etc. Cf. B. Kakati in *Assam Tribune*, October 22, 1947.

<sup>2</sup> Kāmākhyā seems to be called Mahāgaurī in the records of Vanamāla (end of the 9th century) and Indrapāla (12th century), kings of Kāmarūpa. See *infra*, Appendix VI.

Khāti, "the eater of raw flesh", to whom human sacrifices were offered. After their subjugation by the Ahoms, the Deoris were permitted to continue their ghastly rites, but they were usually given, for the purpose, criminals who had been sentenced to capital punishment. Failing them, victims were taken from a particular clan, which in return was accorded certain privileges. The person selected was fed sumptuously, until he was in sufficiently plump condition to suit the supposed test of the goddess, and he was then decapitated at the Copper Temple at Sadiya, or at some other shrine of the tribe. Human sacrifices were also formerly offered by the Tipperas, Kachāris, Koches, Jaintias and other Assam tribes' (E. Gait, *History of Assam*, 1926, p. 42, *J A S B*, 1898, p. 56)<sup>1</sup>. It may be pointed out in this connection that the Chinese pilgrim noticed the influence of the Pāsupatas or Tirthikas, with whom the Tantric devotees of Śākta and Śiva were associated, all over India—in Jālandhara, Ahicchatra (?), Malakūta (in the Far South), Mālava, Benares, Maheshvarapura (on the Narmadā), the land about eastern Makran, Bannu (?) and even Khotan (in Central Asia), cf. *loc cit*, I, 296, 331, II, 47, 229, 242, 251, 257, 262, 296, etc. Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* not only speaks of a great centre of the Kāpāhkas (cf. *supra*, p. 10, note 1), apparently devoted to the god Śiva Malikārjuna, at Śrīparvata (Śrīśaula in the Karnool District, Madras Presidency), but also of their devotion to an image of the mother-goddess Cāmundā (another name of Tārā or Kālī according to the *Kālikā Purāna*, ch. 61, 85–91), entitled Karālā, in a temple at Padmāvatī (Padampawaya near Narwar in the Gwalior State).

Another point of interest in the account of the four Pithas is the importance of the Gandhāra, Uddiyāna, Jālandhara and Kashmir countries of north-western India as centres of Tantricism. Huen Tsang not only noticed the prevalence of Śākta worship in Gandhāra, but has also left an account of the popularity of Tantric practices among the people of Uddiyāna. According to the pilgrim, 'The people (of Uddiyāna) were pusillanimous and deceitful, they were fond of learning but not as a study, and they made the acquisition of magical formulae their occupation' (Watters, *op cit*, p. 225). Uddiyāna's eminence in the Tantric world is also indicated by the recognized association of its name with the worship of the Buddhist deities Māricī, Kurukullā (identified with Kālī in some passages cited in the *Tantrasāra*), Lokeśvara and Ūrdhva-pāda-Vajravārāhī (cf. *Sādhanamālā*, G O S, pp. 80, 83, 283ff, 361, 439). Indrabhūti, the Buddhist king of Uddiyāna, was a celebrated Tantric teacher who composed the *Jñānasiddhi* and other works. He was the father of Padmasambhava, the famous teacher of the Yogācāra doctrine, who was responsible for the popularity of Buddhism in Tibet and established in that country the great Bsam-yas monastery in c. 787 A.D. with the help of a Bengali (?) Buddhist teacher named Śāntarakṣita or Śānti°. The lady Laksimkarā, a sister of king

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'When the new temple of Kāmākhyā was opened, the occasion was celebrated by the immolation of no less than a hundred and forty men, whose heads were offered to the goddess in silver vessels made of copper. Similar sacrifices were offered to various other deities. According to the *Haft Iqlm*, there was in Kāmarūpa a class of persons called Bhogis, who were voluntary victims of a goddess named An who dwelt in a cave, from the time when they announced that they would be killed. They were treated as privileged persons, they were allowed to do whatever they liked, and every woman was at their command, but when the annual festival came round, they were killed. Magic also held an important place in the estimation of the people, and in the *Amr-akbari* they were accused, among other practices, of divination by the examination of a child cut out of the body of "a pregnant woman who has gone her full term of months"' (*History of Assam*, p. 58).

Indrabhūti, composed the Buddhist Tantra work entitled *Advayasiddhi*.<sup>1</sup> The rule of the Turkish Musalmans, that spread over north-western India from the tenth century, led to the gradual decline of the once flourishing Tantric culture in that part of India

*Different Traditions regarding the Number of Pīthas.*

Although four Pīthas were associated roughly with the northern, southern, eastern and western regions of India,<sup>2</sup> writers on the subject are not unanimous as regards the exact number of the seats of the mother-goddess. The *Kālikā Purāna* account of the four Pīthas has been already noticed, but a different section of the same Purāna (ch 18, verses 42-51) gives an account of seven Pīthas (including the four seats of the goddess described above), no less than three of which are located in Kāmarūpa. According to this section, the Pīthas are (1) Devikūta (ie Devikotta, modern Bangarh in the Dinajpur District of Bengal) where Satī's two feet fell on the ground and where the Devi is Mahābhāgā, (2) Uddiyāna where the two thighs fell and where the Devi is Kātyāyanī, (3) Kāmarūpa where the *puendum muliebre* fell and the Devi is Kāmākhyā, (4) a locality on the eastern border of Kāmarūpa where the navel fell and where the Devi is Dikkaravāsini, (5) Jālandhara where the two breasts fell and where the Devi is Candī, (6) Pūrṇagiri where the neck and shoulders fell and where the Devi is Pūrṇeśvarī, and (7) a locality on the borders of Kāmarūpa where the head fell and where the Devi is Lalitakāntā.<sup>3</sup> A Tantra work entitled *Rudrayāmala*, which seems to have been composed considerably earlier than 1052 A D,<sup>4</sup> mentions ten holy places as the 'principal' Pīthas. These ten Pīthas, which include the celebrated four discussed above are (1) Kāmarūpa, (2) Jālandhara, (3) Pūrṇagiri, (4) Uddiyāna (Uddiyāna), (5) Vārānasi (Benares), (6) Jvalantī (probably Jvālāmukhī of later texts), (7) Māyāvati (near Hardwar), (8) Madhupuri (Muttra), (9) Ayodhyā (near Fyzabad, U P), and (10) Kāñcī (Conjeeveram in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf Bhattacharya, *op cit*, pp li-liv. Bhattacharya gives the date of the foundation of the Bsam-yas monastery as 749 A D. But the period of Padmasambhava's stay in Tibet is usually assigned to circa 780-95 A D. by recent writers on the subject (F W Thomas, *Indianism and its Expansion*, p 79).

<sup>2</sup> As the number 3 had a mystic significance with many ancient peoples of the world (cf the Trīmūrti, Triratna, Tribhuvana, etc., of the Indians, the Anu-Bel-Ea trinity of the Babylonians, and the Osiris-Isis-Horus triad of the Egyptians), there was also a tradition about three Pīthas, cf *Anandārṇava Tantra* quoted in *Des Cat Sans MSS*, R A S B, VIII, p 213.

विद्याखण्डत्रयोपेतास्त्रिपैठास्त्रिदशान्तरे ।

कामरूपक-जालन्ध्र-पूर्णभूपुर (भूधर) सञ्जकान् ॥

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p 13, note 2. A passage (probably adapted from the *Kālikā Purāna*) in the sixth Patala of the *Bṛhan-Nīlatantra* refers to the same five Pīthas

देवीकोटे महाभागा उड्डीयाने च भैरवी ।

योनिमुद्रा कामरूपे महिषासुरमर्दिनी ॥

कात्यायनी कामभूमौ कामाख्या कामरूपिणी ।

जालन्धरे (पूर्णशैले) च पूर्णेशी पूर्णेशैले (जालन्धरे) च चण्डिका ॥

कामरूपे ततो देवी पूज्या दिक्करवासिनी ॥

The temple of Dikkaravāsini is usually located at Dikrāng near Sadiya. Lalitakāntā is now popularly associated with the hill-streams Sandhyā, Lalitā and Kāntā not far from Gauhati.

<sup>4</sup> The *Rudrayāmala* is mentioned in the *Brahmayāmala*, a manuscript of which was copied in 1052 A D (Bagchi, *op cit*, pp 6-7). Cf *supra*, p. 12, note 5.

Chingleput District, Madras Presidency)<sup>1</sup> The language of the *Rudrayāmala* suggests that its author had knowledge of some other Pīthas of lesser importance. A passage from this work quoted in the *Kulārnava Tantra* (*Des Cat Sans MSS*, R A S B, VIII, pp 110-11) actually speaks of the following 18 Pīthas (1) ... (2) Devīdaikotha (Devikotta), (3) Hingulā, (4) Kotimudrā, (5) ... (6) Vārānasī, (7) Antarvedī, (8) Prayāga, (9) Mithilā, (10) Māgadha, (11) Mekhalā (Mekalā), (12) Anga, (13) Vanga, (14) Kalinga, (15) Sīmhala, (16) Strīrājya, (17) Rādhā and (18) Gauda. That, however, the list of even the *pradhāna* Pīthas were drawn arbitrarily without any basis of accepted tradition is clearly demonstrated by the discrepancy among similar lists of Pīthas found in different works. A passage of the *Jñānārṇava Tantra* (Ānandāśrama ed., Patala V, verses 66-67), which was composed considerably earlier than the middle of the sixteenth century,<sup>2</sup> enumerates eight important Pīthas in the following order (1) Kāmarūpa, (2) Malaya, (3) Kaulagiri, (4) Kulāntaka, (5) Cauhāra (not mentioned in the *Jñānārṇava* list of 42 Pīthas and may be a result of misreading), (6) Jālandhara, (7) Uddiyāna, and (8) Devakūta (Devikotta).<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact, there are only a few common names in the lists of the *Rudrayāmala* and the *Jñānārṇava*. Such is also the case with other lists of the Pīthas which usually contain only a number of common names.

There is a very small work entitled *Āstādaśapītha* incorporated in Manuscript No 5913 in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. This work, which is full of textual errors, is ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya (probably the same as Śaṅkara Āgamācārya, the Bengali author of the *Tārā-rahasya-vṛttikā*, an R A S B copy of which was made in Śaka 1583 = 1661 A D) and mentions eighteen Pīthas including the Pītha-devīs. Although some of these names are apparently doubtful, it is interesting that the list of eighteen Pīthas includes (1) Lankā—Śāṅkarī, (2) Ālāpu ... (3) Śrīśaila—Bhramarāmbikā, (4) Kolhāpura—Mahālakṣmī, (5) ... (6) Kāsmīra—Sarasvatī (Śārādā). The location of Bhramarāmbikā on the Śrīśaila and of Mahālakṣmī at Kolhapur in the southern part of the Bombay Presidency is specially interesting because Bhramarāmbā, still worshipped on the Śrīśaila, is not mentioned in the other texts, while Kolhapur reminds one of Kolvagiri, etc., and of Mahālakṣmī or Mahālakṣmīpura (cf *I C*, VIII, p 49). The interesting work on the eighteen

<sup>1</sup> Vide *tārā sodhā* in the *Rudrayāmala*, quoted in the *Tantrasāra*, Vangavāsī ed., pp 521-22

मूलाधारे कामरूपं हृदि जालन्धर तथा ।  
ललाटे पूर्णगिर्याख्यम् श्रीज्योतान तदूर्ध्वके ॥  
वाराणसी ध्रुवोर्मध्ये ज्वलन्ती लोचनचये ।  
मायावती मुखरुते कण्ठे मधुपुरी तत ॥  
अयोध्या नाभिदेशे च कस्या काशी विनिर्दिशेत् ॥  
दशैतानि प्रधानानि पीठानि क्रमतो विदुः ।  
ह्रस्वदीर्घस्वरैर्वर्गेर्नमोज्जै क्रमतो न्यसेत् ॥

<sup>2</sup> The *Jñānārṇava* is largely quoted by the Tantrācāryas Brahmananda and Purnānanda in the sixteenth century

कामरूपं च मलय तत कौलगिरि तथा ।  
कुलान्तकं च चौहार जालन्धरमत परम् ॥  
ज्योतियान देवकूट पीठाष्टकमिदं क्रमात् ॥

Pithas is said to have been written down by one Sambhunath Kar of Calcutta in Samvat 1863 = 1806 A.D. from the dictation of an Utkala Brāhmana who was an inhabitant of Jahāyapura (Jāipur) on the Vantarani.<sup>1</sup>

Another Tantra text entitled *Kubjikā Tantra*, usually supposed to be a fairly early work, enumerates the following Siddha-Pithas (1) Māyāvati, (2) Madhupuri, (3) Kāsi, (4) Goraksakārini or Goraksacārini, (5) Himgulā, (6) Jālandhara, (7) Jvālāmukhi, (8) Rāmāgiri, (9) Godāvari, (10) Nepālā, (11) Karnasī, (12) Kuruksetra, (13) Simhanāda or Simhala, (14) Āyodhyā, (15) Manipura, (16) Hṛṣikeśa, (17) Prayāga, (18) Badari, (19) Ambikā, (20) Vardhamāna or Ardhanālaka, (21) Trivenī (probably Mukhtavenī near Calcutta and not Yuktavenī at Prayāga which is separately mentioned), (22) Nārīkela, (23) Virajā, (24) Uddiyāna, (25) Kam, (26) Nīlavāhni, (27) Vāgmatī, (28) Māhismatī, (29) Vārāhi, (30) Tripurā, (31) Vāgmata, (32) Nilavāhni, (33) Govardhana, (34) Vindhya-giri, (35) Kāmarūpa, (36) Ghantākarna, (37) Hayagrīva or Aksayagrīva, (38) Mādhava, (39) Kṣīragrāma, and (40) Vaidyanātha.<sup>2</sup>

1

महाकाले नम । अष्टादशपीठानि लिख्यन्ते ।  
लङ्काया शङ्करे देवी कामाख्या काश्चिकापुरी ।  
प्रदाम्ने सिग(ह)लक्ष्मी चामुण्डा कुक्षपटने (त्रौच?) ॥  
आलापुरे (एला?) युगला देवी श्रीशैले भमरात्मिका ।  
उज्जयिन्या महाकाली माकरे (चङ्गादौ ?) एकवीरका ॥  
उत्कले विरजा देवी माणिक्या (?) चक्रकोटिली (?) ।  
हयलेचे कामरूपी (?) प्रयागे माधवेश्वरी ॥  
ज्वालाया वैष्णवी देवी गया माङ्गलकोटिका (?) ।  
वाराणस्या विशालाक्षी कामाक्षीरे तु सरस्वती ॥  
अष्टादशानि पीठानि योगिनां ध्याननिर्मितम् (?) ।  
तेषा पठनमात्रेण ज्वरदारिद्र्यनाशनम् ॥

इति शङ्कराचार्यविरचितम् अष्टादशपीठ सम्पूर्णम् । इति श्रीशङ्खनाथकर (करेण)  
उत्कलदेशस्य ब्राह्मण-बेलपुरीकर-जहाजपुरीय-वैतरणीय-ब्राह्मणाच्छ्रुत्वा लिखितम् । सेवत्  
१८६३ पोषकृत्याकादश्या शुक्ले लिखित कलिकाताख्यपटने । शुभमस्तु सर्वजगताम् ॥

<sup>2</sup> Cf *Kubjikā Tantra* (Patāla VII), Manuscript No 3174 (R.A.S.B.), the same quoted in the *Prānatosanī Tantra* (Vasumatī ed., p 234) and in the *Vācaspatya*, s v *pītha*.

मायावती मधुपुरी काशी गोरक्षकारिणी (v1 °चारिणी) ।  
हिङ्गुला च महापीठ तथा जालन्धर पुन ॥  
ज्वालामुखी महापीठ पीठ नागरसम्भवम् (v1. नगर°) ।  
रामगिरिर्महापीठ तथा गोदावरी प्रिये ॥  
नेपाल कर्णसूत्रश्च महाकर्ण तथा प्रिये ।  
अयोध्या च कुक्षेच सिङ्गलाख्य (v1 सिङ्गनाद) मनोरमम् ॥  
माणपुर हृषीकेश प्रयागश्च तपोवनम् ।  
बदरी च महापीठमम्बिका अर्द्धनालकम् (v1. अम्बिकावर्द्धमानकम्) ॥  
त्रिवेणी च महापीठ गङ्गासागरसङ्गमम् ।  
नारिकेलश्च विरजा उज्जयिन महेश्वरी ॥



This list, probably composed in eastern India, speaks rather independently of about forty-two Pīthas some of which seem to represent actually the names of deities. Reference to the Vindhyan region as a Pītha in this list no doubt points to the resort of the celebrated non-Aryan goddess Vindhya-vāsinī (identified with the Indian mother-goddess) whose temple stands near modern Mirzapur in the United Provinces. The antiquity of the worship of this goddess is proved by the fact that, according to Vākpatirāja's *Gaudavaha*, king Yaśovarman (c. 730–53 A.D.) offered his homage to Devī Vindhya-vāsinī in connection with his expedition for the conquest of the quarters. In the twelfth century, Kalhana (*Rāj tar*, III, pp. 394–431) seems to refer to the same deity as Bhramara-vāsinī<sup>1</sup> in connection with a sixth century Kashmirian king named Ranāditya. The celebrated Śākta work entitled *Candī*, incorporated in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*, gives evidence to the cult of the goddess Vindhya-vāsinī (cf. ch. 91, v. 37). That the resort of this early and important deity is not mentioned in all the different lists of Pīthas containing even names of lesser importance, indicates the absence of recognized traditions and the freedom an author may have exercised in this matter.

*Evidence of the Jñānārṇava and the Tantrasāra regarding the Number of Pīthas*

Eight Pīthas mentioned in the *Jñānārṇava Tantra* have been mentioned above. It is interesting to note that a different section of the same work definitely gives the recognized number of Pīthas as fifty only<sup>2</sup>. These fifty Pīthas are (1) Kāmāruṇī, (2) Vāṇī, (3) Nepālā, (4) Paundravardhana (Mahasthan in the Bogra District, North Bengal), (5) Kashmir, (6) Kānyakubja, (7) Purasthita (v. 1 Purasthira), (8) Carasthita (v. 1 Candrāsthira, Carasthira), (9) Pūrṇasāla, (10) Ārbuda, (11) Āmrātakaśvara, (12) Ekāmra (Bhuvaneśvar in Orissa), (13) Trisrotah (the Tista river in north-eastern

कमला विमला चैव तथा माहिषाक्षी (v. 1 माहिषाक्षी) पुरी ।

वाराही त्रिपुरा चैव वायव्ये नैऋत्यदिनी ॥

गोवर्द्धन विश्वगिरि कामरूप कलौ युगे ।

घण्टाकर्षी हयग्रीवौ (v. 1 °हयग्रीवौ) माधवश्च सुरेश्वरि ॥

चौरग्राम वैद्यनाथ जानीयाद्दामलोचने ॥

This list can hardly be very early. But the idea (*Rājamālā*, I, ed. K. P. Sen, p. 124) that the *Kubjikā* speaks of 127 Pīthas is due to the wrong impression created by the *Prānatosanī* which quotes several lists from the *Bṛhan-Ātatantra*, without reference to the source, in continuation of the *Kubjikā* list.

<sup>1</sup> The name has, as the *Rāj tar* seems to imply, bearing on the condition of the Vindhyan forests infested with bees. The Indian mother-goddess is given the name Bhramarī in some texts (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*, 91, 49, *Devibhāgavata*, X, 10, 13), of the name of Bhramarāmbā on the Śrīśāla. The *Pīthamrṇaya* locates this deity in northern Bengal and in the Nasik region of the Bombay Presidency. It is interesting to note that certain forms of the mother goddess in western Asia, such as Nanaia and Artemis, had the bee for their symbol. The Indian mother-goddess riding a lion reminds one of the Cappadocian Ma who stands on a lioness or panther. Like Siva, Ma's consort Teshub also rides on a bull and has the three-pronged thunder-bolt (cf. *trīśūla*) as his distinctive weapon. See Raychaudhuri, *D R Bhand Volume*, pp. 301–03. The goddess Vindhya-vāsinī is possibly called Śūlinī in the *Tantrasāra*, p. 193. The *Gaudavaha* (verses 285–347) identifies Vindhya-vāsinī with Kālī or Pārvatī, associates her with the Kols and Sabaras, and refers to human sacrifices offered to her. For the goddess, fond of wine and flesh and worshipped by the Sabaras, Pulindas and Barbaras, see *Hariv*, II, iii, 7–8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the expressions *pañcāśat-pītha-saṅcaya* (v. 1 *pañcāśat-sthāna*) and *pañcāśat-pītha-vinyāsa* in the *Jñānārṇava* (Ānandāśrama ed., Patana XIV, verse 112), quotation from the same work in the *Tantrasāra*, p. 427n, *Tantracūḍāmaṇi* (MS No. I, F. 3 in the library of the R. A. S. B.), p. 515.

India), (14) Kāmakoṭṭa (v1 °kota), (15) Kailāsa, (16) Bhrgu, (17) Kedāra, (18) Candrapur, (19) Śrīpītha (probably, Śrīhatta), (20) Onkāra, (21) Jālapur, (22) Mālava (v1 Mānava), (23) Kulānta (v1 Kūpānta), (24) Devakotta, (25) Gokarna, (26) Māruteśvara, (27) Aṭṭahāsa, (28) Virajā, (29) Rājagrha, (30) Kolvagurī (Kaulagurī), (31) Elāpura (Ellora), (32) Kāleśvara (v1 Kāmeśvara), (33) Jayantikā (Jayanti), (34) Uddāsa, (35) Ksīrkā (Ksīragrāma), (36) Hastināpura, (37) Uddīsa (from Pāli *Uddāsa*, *Oddāsa* > Sanskrit *Odrasīya*, i.e. Orissa), (38) Prayāga, (39) Vindhya, (40) Mānava (v1 Mānava), (41) Jāleśvara (in Orissa), (42) Malaya, (43) Śrīśaila, (44) Meru, (45) Mānava, (46) Vāmana, (47) Hīranyapura, (48) Mahālakṣmī, (49) Uddyāna, (50) Chāyāchatrapura<sup>1</sup> It is doubtful whether all the

<sup>1</sup> The same passage is also found in the manuscript of the *Tantracūḍāmaṇi* (pp. 515-16) in the RASB library and in Brahmananda's *Śāktānandataranginī*, ch. 15 (referring to the *Gāndharva Tantra*)

कामरूप महापीठ पीठ वाराणसीं तथा ।  
 नेपालश्च तथा पीठ तथा वै पौण्ड्रवर्द्धनम् ॥  
 काशौरश्च महापीठ कान्यकुब्जमत परम् ।  
 पुरस्थित (v1 °खिर) तथा पीठ चरस्थितमथापरम्  
 (v1 चरखिर°, चन्द्राखिर°) ॥  
 पूर्णेशैश्च महापीठमर्बुदश्च तत परम् ।  
 आघातकेश्वर पीठमेकाग्रश्च तत परम् ॥  
 (v1 दारुकेश महापीठम् एकाग्रश्च तथा शिवे ।)  
 निखोत पीठमनघ कामकोट (v1 °टि°) मत परम् ।  
 कैलाश भृगुपीठश्च (v1 °नगर) केदार चन्द्रपुरकम् ॥  
 (v1 कैलाशभृगुकेदार पीठ चन्द्रपुर तत ॥)  
 श्रीपीठश्च (श्रीदृष्टश्च ?) तथाङ्गार जालन्धरमत परम् ।  
 मालवश्च (v1 मानवश्च) तथा पीठ कुलान्त (v1 कूपान्त)  
 देवकोटकम् (v1 देवी°, °कोटकम्, °कोटरम्) ॥  
 (v1 कैलाश भूतनगर केदार पीठमुत्तमम् ।  
 श्रीपीठश्च कुलान्तश्च देवमातृकमेव च ॥ )  
 गोकर्णश्च महापीठ मातृकेश्वरमेव च ।  
 षड्विंशश्च विरज राजगृहमथापरम् (v1 महापथम्) ॥  
 पीठ कोल्हगिरि प्रोक्तमेलापुरमथापरम् ।  
 कालेश्वर (v1 कामेश्वर) महापीठ महापीठ (v1 °प्रणवाख्य) जयन्तिकाम् ॥  
 पीठमुज्जयिनौश्चैव विचित्र क्षीरिकाभिधम् ।  
 हस्तिनापुरपीठश्च (v1 पुरक पीठम्) उड्डीशश्च प्रयागकम् ॥  
 विन्ध्येश्वर (v1 पठोशश्च, कान्यकुब्ज) महापीठ मायापुरजलेश्वरौ ।  
 मलयश्च महापीठ श्रीशैल मेरुक गिरिम् ॥  
 महेन्द्र वामनश्चैव (v1 माहेन्द्र वारुण°) हिरण्यपुरमेव च (v1 हिरण्य) ।  
 महालक्ष्मीमय (v1 °पुर) पीठमुड्डीयानमत परम् ॥  
 श्याङ्गचपुर पीठ तथैव परमेश्वरि ।  
 पञ्चाशत्पीठविन्यास मातृकावन्नासेत् सदा ॥

places mentioned were Śākta *tīrthas* In some cases there seems to be an attempt to trace Śākta influence in not only Śaiva but also Vaiṣṇava holy

The same passage is found in the fifth Patala of the *Brhan-Nīlantantra* in a modified and corrupt form (cf. *infra*, p 37, note 1 for the emendations)

कामरूप प्रिय वाराणसौ नैपालमेव च ।  
 पौण्ड्र वर्द्धनपीठश्च पावक्य (पारस्य) कान्यकुब्जकम् ॥  
 पुष्याद्रिमर्बुदक्षैव (पुण्या°) एकाग्रमाचकेश्वरम् (°वैकाग्रमाघातके°) ।  
 त्रैपुर कामकोटश्च तथा गुप्तपुर (भृगु°) वरम् ॥  
 कैलास पीठकेदार(°र) शुभचन्द्रपुर तथा ।  
 श्रीपुर च तथा काल्या (कन्या°) पुर जालन्धर तथा ॥  
 मानव (मालव) बिल्वपीठश्च देवीकोट तथैव च ।  
 गोकर्ण मारुतेश्च तथाष्टद्वारमेव च ॥  
 अमुकानामगोचश्च (विरजापुरक्षेत्रश्च) एलापुरमलिप्रियम् ।  
 मङ्गापथपुरश्चैव ओङ्कारपुरमेव च ॥  
 जयदक्ष जयपुरम् उज्जयिनीपुर तथा ।  
 हरिद्रापीठकक्षैव प्रिय(य)क्षीरपुर प्रियम् ॥  
 गजाक्षयपुरश्चैव उज्जैनपुरमेव (उज्जैश°) च ।  
 प्रयागश्च तथा षष्ठीपुरमेव शिवप्रदम् ॥  
 मायापुरमतिश्रेष्ठ पुरश्च परमेश्वरम् (शमने° ?) ।  
 श्रीशैलमेरुपीठश्च हिमालयमहागिरिम् ॥  
 महेन्द्रपुरपीठश्च तथा बलिपुरं प्रियम् ।  
 हिरण्यपुरपीठश्च महालक्ष्मीपुर तथा ॥  
 चण्डौपुरमतिश्रेष्ठ (चण्ड°?) तथा आयापुर (आयाङ्गपुर) प्रिये ॥

To give the above passage an appearance of an original composition, it is preceded in the *Brhan-Nīlantantra* by the following verses which mention certain Pīthas in the alphabetical order

अमरेशपुरश्चैवासुरान्तकपुर तथा ।  
 अम्बिकापीठमत्यन्तमनन्तपुरमेव च ॥  
 अनिरुद्धपुर वेत्सि तथादितिपुर परम् ।  
 अपिमादिपुरश्चैव अश्वमेधपुर परम् ॥  
 अन्नपूर्णासहापीठमम्बुजाख्यापुरन्तथा ।  
 आदिपीठानन्दपीठो चामोदावादिस्त्रकरो ॥  
 आशुसिद्धिपुरश्चैव यथाद्यन्तपुर सुखम् ।  
 अकम्पादित्यपीठो च आद्यादिनाथपीठकौ ॥  
 इष्टनाम(°नाभ°)पुरश्चैव इन्दिरापुरमेव च ।  
 इक्षोदयगिरिश्चैव इलान्तेन्दुरे प्रिये ॥  
 इन्द्राणीन्द्रौश्वरश्चैव इन्द्रानन्दपुरन्तथा ।  
 पुरमिन्दुवतौ नाम तवेन्दुविजय पुरम् ॥  
 ईश्वरेश्वरयोगौ च ईशानेन्दौश्वरौपुरम् ।  
 ईशान्यैशपुर देवि कथित पीठसुत्तमम् ॥

Some of the names mentioned appear to have been fabricated by the author and to have had no real existence

places. This attempt may possibly be attributed to eastern India. The above list has been quoted and utilized in a *Pīthanyāsa* section of the *Tantrasāra* by the Bengali Tantric teacher Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa in the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> Curiously enough the *Tantrasāra*, in spite of its clear recognition of the number of Pīthas to be fifty only in accordance with the *Jñānārṇava Tantra*, actually makes fifty-one Pīthas out of the fifty enumerated above. This has been done strangely by splitting the name of one of the fifty Pīthas, viz Merugiri (No 44) into two names, viz Meru Pītha and Giri Pītha,<sup>2</sup> in the formal *nyāsa* associating certain limbs with the Pīthas.<sup>3</sup> The anomaly was probably the result of a modification of the text of the *Tantrasāra* by later hands. What is, however, more interesting is that the *Pīthanirṇaya* or *Mahāpīthanirūpana*, which has been quoted in the *Prānatosanī Tantra* by Rāmatosana Vidyālakāra, who was seventh in descent from the compiler of the *Tantrasāra*, in 1820 adheres exactly to this modified number of the Pīthas, viz fifty-one, although the list itself is independent of the earlier lists of Pīthas. As this work is not quoted in the *Tantrasāra* or any other earlier Tantra dealing with the Pīthas, it seems that the *Pīthanirṇaya* was composed or became popular in eastern India shortly after the compilation of the *Tantrasāra* by Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa (seventeenth century) but before that of the *Prānatosanī Tantra* by Rāmatosana in 1820. As the work was utilized by Bhāratacandra in his *Annadā-mangala* (1752), it must have been composed earlier than the middle of the

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion on the date of the *Tantrasāra*, see Appendix IV

<sup>2</sup> Cf *Tantrasāra*, p 426 ल ल ल मेरुपीठाय नमः ककुदि, व व व गिरिपीठाय नमो वामस्कन्धे ।

<sup>3</sup> Cf *loc cit*, also the *Rudrayāmala* passage quoted above. The *Tantrasāra* associates the following limbs with the following Pīthas (1) कामरूप—limb not mentioned, according to the *Rudrayāmala* मूलाधार (region of the organ of generation), (2) वाराणसी—मुखटन, (3) नेपाल—दक्षचक्षु (दक्ष = right), (4) पौण्ड्रवर्धन—वामचक्षु, (5) काश्मीर—दक्षकर्ण, (6) कान्यकुब्ज—वामकर्ण, (7) पुरस्थित—दक्षिणनस् (नस् = nostril), (8) चरस्थित—वामनस्, (9) पूर्णशैल—दक्षगण्ड, (10) शर्वद—वामगण्ड, (11) आघातकेश्वर—ओष्ठ, (12) एकाक्ष—अधर, (13) त्रिलोत—जर्द्धदन्त, (14) कामकोट्ट—अधोदन्त, (15) कैलास—ब्रह्मरन्ध्र, (16) भृगु—मुख, (17) केदार—दक्षबाहुमूल, (18) चन्द्रपुर—दक्षकूर्पर, (19) त्रै—दक्षमणिवन्ध, (20) ओङ्कार—दक्षिणाङ्गुलिमूल, (21) जालन्धर—दक्षाङ्गुल्यग्र, (22) मालव (मानव)—वामबाहुमूल, (23) कुलान्तक (कूपान्तक)—वामकूर्पर; (24) देवीकोट्ट—वाममणिवन्ध, (25) गोकर्ण—वामाङ्गुलिमूल, (26) मास्तेश्वर—वामाङ्गुल्यग्र, (27) अट्टहास—दक्षपादमूल, (28) विरज—दक्षजानु, (29) राजगृह—दक्षगुल्फ, (30) कोल्हगिरि—दक्षपादाङ्गुलिमूल, (31) एलापुर—दक्षाङ्गुल्यग्र, (32) कामेश्वर (कालेश्वर)—वामपादमूल, (33) जयन्ती—वामजानु, (34) उज्जयिनी—वामगुल्फ, (35) क्षीरिका—वामपादाङ्गुलिमूल, (36) हस्तिनापुर—वामपादाङ्गुल्यग्र, (37) उड्डौश—दक्षिणपार्श्व, (38) प्रयाग—वामपार्श्व, (39) विन्ध्य—ग्रह, (40) माथापुर—नाभि; (41) जलेश्वर—उदर, (42) मलय—हृत्, (43) त्रिशैल—दक्षस्कन्ध, (44) मेरु—ककुत्, (45) गिरि—वामस्कन्ध, (46) महेंद्र—हृदादिदक्षकर, (47) वामन—हृदादिवामकर, (48) हिरण्यपुर—हृदादिदक्षपाद, (49) महम्मल्लकीपुर—हृदादिवामपाद; (50) उड्डौयान—हृदाद्यदर, (51) श्यामावपुः—हृदादिसुख । It should be noted that the association of a Pītha with a limb in the *nyāsa* was suggested differently by different writers

eighteenth century The composition of the *Pīthanirnaya* or *Mahāpīthanirūpana* may therefore be assigned to the closing years of the seventeenth century or more probably to the early years of the eighteenth (c 1690-1720) The reference to Kālighāta, whose popularity seems to be associated with the foundation of Calcutta (1690) and whose mention in earlier works is rare,<sup>1</sup> possibly supports this date The important feature of this work, as it is usually accepted in Bengal, is that its list of Pīthas together with the names of the Devī and the Bhairava, includes a number of places in the rural areas of Bengal The language is in some cases greatly influenced by Bengali The history of the literature on the Pīthas no doubt points unmistakably to the great contribution Bengal must have made to the Tantric literature and culture in the medieval period The greatest centre of Tantricism seems to have originally been in north-western India Before the medieval period, the Tantric school of north-eastern India rose to eminence and became a great rival of the north-western school With the gradual decline of Tantric culture in the north-west as a result of foreign occupation, Bengal seems to have come to the forefront as the abode of great leaders of Tantric thought

### *The Tradition about 108 Pīthas*

The uncertainty about the recognized number of the Pīthas in the medieval period is also demonstrated by another fact The number 108 had some importance in India to the sectarian worshippers who often attempted to endow their respective deities with 108 names<sup>2</sup> In the list of such 108 names of a particular deity, names or epithets of various other deities were appropriated, the underlying idea being that the latter are only different manifestations of the former The love of system and concord, which is a feature of the Indian mind, inspired theologians to harmonize Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva in the compound form of the *śūmūrti*, Viṣṇu and Śiva in that of *Harī-Hara*, and Śiva and Śakti in that of *Ardha-nār-īśvara* The theory of the ten *Avatāras* of Viṣṇu was likewise the result of an attempt at harmonization of different religious sects worshipping different cult-deities<sup>3</sup> Even in recent times, the Bāuls of Bengal, both Muslim and

<sup>1</sup> There is no mention of Kalighat as a Pītha in the *Candīmangala* (16th century) by Mukundarāma of the Burdwan District But Vipradāsa's *Manasāmangala* (1495 A D) mentions Kālikā of Kalighat, Sarvamangalā of Cūpur (now included in Calcutta) and Betār-Candī of Betor (near Sibpur in the Howrah District) Even if this reference is nōt an interpolation, it does not prove that Kalighat was regarded as an important *tīrtha* in the fifteenth century The sixteenth century author Vamsīdāsa of Mymensing does not regard Kalighat as a Pītha See *infra*, p 33 and note 3

<sup>2</sup> Cf the list of various names of Śiva in the *Sanatkumāra-samhitā* section (ch. 31) of the *Śiva Purāna* and in the *Kedārakhanda* subsection of the *Māhēśvarakhanda* section of the *Skanda Purāna* For a list of the different names of Brahman, see *Padma Purāna*, *Srstikhandā*, ch 34, *Skanda Purāna*, *Prabhāsakhanda*, ch 107 The idea seems to have originated from the *Satarudriya* section of the *Yajurveda* (*Taittiriya Samhitā*, IV, 5, 1, *Vājasaneyī Samhitā*, ch 16) A Bengali text entitled *Śrīkr̥ṣṇa-śatanāma* (literally, the 100 names of Lord Kṛṣṇa) is very popular in Bengal and is daily recited by many pious people There are also later lists of the 1,000 names of some gods, notably Viṣṇu See *Des Cat*, R A S B, VIII, pp 173, 500, 812, 815, 820ff., 842, etc For two lists of the *śahasranāma* of Viṣṇu and Śiva, see *Mahābhārata*, XIII, chs 149 and 17 For the importance of the numbers 108 and 1008, see *Tantrasāra*, pp 48, 116, 131, 157, 538-652, 733, 761, 781, 825-26, 903, 905, 918, 920, 973, etc., and 83, 157, 906-07, 928, etc The importance of the number 108 is clearly demonstrated by the fact that even today the revered names of many religious teachers are mentioned as prefixed by the word *Śrī* for no less than 108 times, although in actual practice *Śrī* for 108 times is indicated by the expression '*śrī* 108'

<sup>3</sup> See Sircar, 'Sectarian Difference among the Early Vaisnavas' in *Bhār Vēd*, VIII, pp 109-11.

Hindu, have been declaring in their songs the absolute identity of Rāma and Rahim, of Christ (Beng *Khrsta*) and Kṛṣṇa (vulgo *Kṛsta*), of Śiva and 'Alī, and of Durgā and Fatīma. A section of the devotees of the mother-goddess is known to have endowed their cult-deity with 108 names attempting thereby to identify her with various goddesses and with the female forms (Saktis or energizing powers) of many gods worshipped in different parts of India. An early list of this nature can be traced in the *Mahābhārata* (VI, ch 23), but a complete list of the 108 names of the mother-goddess with the specification of her association with particular holy places is probably to be found for the first time in the *Matsya Purāna*, ch 13, the particular section, however, being assignable to the early mediæval period.<sup>1</sup> The same text has been quoted in the description of the various manifestations of Bhadrakarnikā (a form of the mother-goddess) in the Revākhaṇḍa subsection of the Āvāntyakhaṇḍa in the *Skanda Purāna* (which in its present form is not earlier than the twelfth century)<sup>2</sup> as well as in the enumeration of the different names of the goddess Sāvitrī, the wife of Brahman, in the Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa section (ch 17) of the *Padma Purāna*. The same text is also quoted in the *Devībhāgavata* (VII, ch 30) which, unlike the *Matsya*, *Skanda* and *Padma Purānas*, refers to the holy places, associated in this work with the different manifestations of the mother-goddess and of her consort, as Pīthas without, however, mentioning the particular limbs of the goddess and the particular Bhairavas, although it says that the list contains the names of some Pīthas in addition to those that 'sprang from' the limbs of Satī.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ch 13 of the *Matsya Purāna* refers to Vṛndāvana as the resort of Rādhā and to Purusottama. There is no genuine evidence to show that Rādhā was recognized as a divinity earlier than the post-Gupta period and that Purusottama (Puri) attained to any eminence before the days of Anantavarman Codaganga (1078-1147 A.D.) who laid the foundation of the great temple of Jagannātha at Puri. Cf. also reference to Māṇḍavyapura (Mandor in the Jodhpur State), Vaidyanātha, etc., which do not appear to be early, although the *Matsya Purāna* in some form must have existed in earlier times.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. references to Rāmānuja (Viṣṇukhaṇḍa, ch 21) who flourished in the age of the Chōla King Adhirājendra (c. 1070 A.D.) and the Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana (c. 1106-41 A.D.), to the Gurjara-Pratihāra King Bhoja I (c. 836-85 A.D.) and to King Āma of Kanauj who was either the same as Āma (c. 753-65 A.D.), son of Yaśovarman (c. 730-53 A.D.) or as Āma-Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 805-33 A.D.), grandfather of Bhoja I. *Vide* Prabhāsakhaṇḍa-Vaśtrāpathamāhātmya, ch 1ff, Brahmakhaṇḍa-Dharmāranyakhaṇḍa, ch 36ff. These, however, do not prove that the *Skanda Purāna* did not exist in any form in earlier times. In the first-half of the 11th century, Albirūnī had information about the 18 *Purānas* including the *Skanda* (Sachau, *loc. cit.*, pp. 130-31). For a Bengal manuscript of this *Purāna* 'written in Gupta hand, to which as early a date as the middle of the seventh century can be assigned on palaeographical grounds', see *JRAS*, 1903, p. 193, Smrth *EHI*, 1924, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> A later list of 108 Pīthas is found in the *Prānatosanī Tantra*, p. 236 (cf. *Vācaspatya*, s.v. *pītha*). The verses appear to have been quoted from the *Brhan-Nīlatantra* (Paṭala V) which was known to the *Prānatosanī* (cf. p. 2). As there are several lists in it, the *Brhan-Nīla*, itself a late-mediæval work, probably also drew from some slightly earlier sources. If it is the same as the *Mahā-Nīlatantra*, it must be regarded as earlier than c. 1550 A.D. when Brahmānanda mentioned it in his *Tārārahasya* (Paṭala I). But this date is doubtful, as the *Brhan-Nīla* quotes one list of 52 Pīthas.

[पौढानां परम पौढ कामरूप महाफलम् ।]

\* \* \* \* \*

पौढप्रसङ्गादेवेशि पौढानि शुणु भैरवि ।

\* \* \* \* \*

पष्करञ्च गयाञ्चैव अक्षयाख्यवटस्थया (१। अक्षयाद) ।

वरारूपपर्वतश्चैव तीर्थञ्चामरकण्टकम् (१। शिवश्च) ॥

This interesting list of the 108 names of the mother-goddess and those of as many holy places in different parts of India includes the following names

- नर्मदा यमुना पिङ्गा गङ्गाद्वार तथा प्रिये ।  
 गङ्गासागरसङ्गच्छ कुशावर्तश्च विल्वकम् ॥  
 श्रीनीलपर्वतश्चैव कलम्बकुञ्जके (११ °कुञ्जिके) तथा ।  
 भृगुतुङ्गश्च (११ °भृङ्गश्च) केदार सर्वप्रियमञ्जालयम् (११ °चलम्) ॥  
 ललिता च सुगन्धा च शाकम्भरीपुर प्रियम् ।  
 कर्णतीर्थ महागङ्गा लम्बिकात्रय (नम्बिका° ?) एव (११ °मेव) च ॥  
 कुमारारण्यप्रभासौ च तथा धन्या सरस्वती ।  
 श्यावन्त्यात्रयमिष्ट (११ °श्यावन्त्या°) मे कण्ठात्रयमत (११ कन्या°, कण्ठा°) परम् ॥  
 कौशिकीसरयूशोणज्योति सरपुर सरम् ।  
 कामोदक (११ कालोदक) प्रिय श्रीमत् प्रियमुत्तरमानसम् ॥  
 मातङ्गवापी सप्तार्चिर्महाविष्णुपद (११ °मन्यद्विष्णु°) महत् ।  
 वैद्यनाथ महातीर्थ प्रिय कालञ्जरी गिरि ॥  
 रामोच्छेद गङ्गीच्छेद हरीच्छेद महानलम् ।  
 (११ वामो°, रामोद्भेद गङ्गीद्भेद हरीद्भेद महावनम् ।)  
 भद्रेश्वर महातीर्थ लक्ष्मणोच्छेदमेव (११ लक्ष्मणोद्भेद°) च ॥  
 जानीहि प्रियत्रेष्ठा (११ °स्रष्टा) च कावेरी कपिलोदका ।  
 सोमेश्वर शुक्लतीर्थ लक्ष्मणवेष्ठा (११ °वेष्ठा°) प्रभेदक ॥  
 पाटला च महाबोधिमर्गतोर्थ मदन्तिका (११ °न्तिके) ।  
 पुण्य रामेश्वर देवि तथा मेघवन हरे ॥  
 ऐल रमणकक्षैव (११ ऐलेयकवनश्चैव) गोवर्द्धनमजप्रियम् ।  
 हरिश्चन्द्र पुरश्चन्द्र प्रथूदकमये प्रियम् (११ °मथ प्रिये, प्रियम्) ॥  
 इन्द्रनील महानाद तथैव प्रियमैलकम् ।  
 पञ्चाक्षर (११ पञ्चाक्षर°) पञ्चवटौ बटौ(ट)पर्वतिका तथा ॥  
 गङ्गाविल्व प्रसङ्गश्च (११. °विल्वश्च प्रा°) प्रियनादवट तथा (११ °टस्तथा) ।  
 गङ्गाधामाचलश्चैव (११ गङ्गारामा°) तथैव ऋणमोचनम् ॥  
 गौतमेश्वरतीर्थश्च वशिष्ठतीर्थमेव च ।  
 हारीतश्च (११ °तक) तथा देवि ब्रह्मावर्त शिवप्रियम् (११ °प्रदम्) ॥  
 कुशावर्तमतित्रेष्ठ हस्ततीर्थ तथैव च ।  
 पिण्डारकवन (११ °वकरण) प्ल्यात हरिद्वार तथैव च ॥  
 तथैव बदरीतीर्थ रामतीर्थ (११ °वाम°) तथैव च ।  
 जयन्त विजयन्त च सर्वकल्याणद प्रिये ॥  
 विजया सारदातीर्थ भद्रकालेश्वर तथा ।  
 अश्वतीर्थ सुविख्यात तथा वेदशिर प्रियम् (११ वेदशिराप्रिय, देवि  
 शिवप्रियम्) ।  
 शोघवती नदी चैव तीर्थमश्वप्रद (११ °स्व पद) तथा ।  
 जागलिङ्ग माटगण करवीरपुर तथा ॥

- (1) Viśālākṣī—Vārāṇasī, (2) Lingadhārīnī—Naumisa, (3) Lalitā—Prayāga, (4) Kāmākṣī, Kāmukā or Kāmukī—Gandhamādāna, (5) Kumudā—Mānasa, (6) Viśvakāyā or Viśvakāmā—Ambara, (7) Gomatī—Gomanta, (8) Kāmācārīnī—Mandara, (9) Madotkatā—Caitraratha, (10) Jayantī—Hastināpura, (11) Gaurī—Kānyakubja, (12) Rambhā—the Malaya or Amala mountain, (13) Kīrtimatī—Ekāmra, (14) Viśvā or Vilvā—Viśveśvara, (15) Pūruhūtā—Puskara, (16) Mārgadāyīnī—Kedāra, (17) Nandā or Mandā—the Himālayas, (18) Bhadrakarnikā or Bhadrakālīkā—Gokarna, (19) Bhavānī—Sthānviśvara or Sthāneśvara, (20) Vilvapatrikā—Vilvaka or Vilvala, (21) Mādhavī—Śrīśaula, (22) Bhadrā or Bhadreśvari—Bhadra, Bhadreśvara or Madreśvara, (23) Jayā—Varāhaśaula, (24) Kamalā—Kamalālaya, (25) Rudrānī or Kalyānī—Rudrakotī, (26) Kālī—Kālāñjara, (27) Kāpilā—Mahālinga, (28) Mukteśvari or Mangaleśvari—Kota, Markota, Mākota or Karkota, (29) Mahādevī—Śālagrāma or Śāligrāma, (30) Lalitā or Śivalinga, (31) Kumārī—Māyāpurī, (32) Lalitā—Santāna, (33) Utpalākṣī—Sahasrākṣa, (34) Mahotpalā—Sahasrākṣa or Hiranyākṣa, (35) Mangalā—the Gangā or Gayā, (36) Vimalā—Purusottama, (37) Amoghākṣī—Vipāśā, (38) Pātālā—Pundravardhana or Punyavardhana, (39) Nārāyaṇī—Supārśva, (40) Bhadrāsundarī or Rudrasundarī—Trikūta, (41) Vipulā—Vipula, (42) Kalyānī—Mānasācala or Malayācala, (43) Kotavī—Kotatīrtha, (44) Sugandhā—Mādhavavāna or Madhavivāna, (45) Trisandhyā—Godāśrama, Godāvari or Kūbjāmra, (46) Ratipriyā or Haripriyā—Gangādvāra, (47) Śivānandā, Subhānandā, Sunandā or Sabhānandā—Śivakunda, Śivakuñja or Śivacanda, (48) Nandīnī—the bank of the Devikā, (49) Rukmīnī—Dvāravatī, (50) Rādhā—Vr̥ndāvana, (51) Devakī—Mathurā, (52) Parameśvari—Pātālā, (53) Sītā—Citrakūta, (54) Vindhyaśmī—the Vindhya, (55) Ekavīrā—the Sahyādri (Western Ghats), (56) Candrikā—Harīścandra or Harmacandra, (57) Ramanā—Rāmatīrtha, (58) Mrgāvātī—the Yamunā, (59) Mahālakṣmī—Karavīra, (60) Umā or Rūpā—Vināyaka, (61) Arogā or Ārogyā—Vaidyanātha, (62) Maheśvari—Mahākālā, (63) Abhayā—the Usnatīrtha, or Puspātīrtha, (64) Amrtā, Nītabā or Mrgī—the Vindhyan cave, (65) Māndavī or Māndukī—Māndavya or Māndava, (66) Svāhā—Māheśvarapura or Māheśvaripura, (67) Pracandā—Chāgalānda, Chāgalānda, Chāgalīnga or Vegala, (68) Candikā—Amarakantaka, Vakarandaka or Marakankatā, (69) Varārohā—Someśvara, (70) Puṣkarāvātī—Prabhāsa, (71) Devamātā—Sarasvatī, (72) Mātā, Pārā or Pāvā—the shore of the sea or the bank of the Pārā, (73) Mahābhāgā or Mahāpadmā—Mahālaya, (74) Pīngaleśvari—the Payosnī, (75) Śimhikā—Kṛitāśauca, (76) Yaśaskarī, Śankarī or Atīśankarī—Kārttikeya, (77) Loīā—Utpalāvartaka,

सप्तगोदावर तीर्थं लिङ्गाख्य सर्वमोहनम् (च 1. सर्वधर्मफलप्रदम्) ।

[अथोत्था मथुरा माया दुर्गा द्वारवती (च 1. द्वारा°) चरे ॥

विद्यापुरमवन्ती च काशी मङ्गलकोटकम् (च 1. °कोटरम्; °कुट्टकम्; नकुल-  
कोटरम्, शकुलकोटरम्) ॥

कालीघट गुप्ततीर्थं सिद्धाख्य (च 1. लिङ्गाख्य) सर्वमोहनम् ॥]

किरीटमुत्तरं (च 1. °रा°) तीर्थं दक्षिणे (च 1. °षा°) तीर्थमुत्तमम् ।

विशालतीर्थं काल्याख्य वन उन्दावन तथा ॥

ज्वालामुखी हिङ्गुला च महातीर्थं गणेश्वरम् ।

जानीहि सर्वसिद्धिना (च 1. °तीर्थाणां, °सिद्धानां) हेतुस्थानानि सुन्दरि ॥

The text is not free from defects. Names like Aila, Kuśāvarta, etc., have been duplicated.



(78) Subhadrā—Śonasaṅgama or Sindhūsaṅgama, (79) Mātā Lakṣmī or Umā Lakṣmī—Siddhapura, Siddhavana or Siddhavata, (80) Aṅganā, Anangā or Tarangā—Bharatāśrama, (81) Viśvamukhī—Jālandhara, (82) Tārā—the Kiskindhya hill, (83) Pustī—Devadāruvana, (84) Medhā—Kāśmīra, (85) Bhīmā—the Himalayas, (86) Pustī or Tustī—Vastreśvara or Viśveśvara, (87) Śuddhī or Śuddhā—Kapālamocana, (88) Mātā—Kāyāvarohana, (89) Dhvanī or Dharā—Śankhoddhāra, (90) Dhrtī—Pindāraka, (91) Kālā or Kalā—the Candrabhāgā, (92) Śivakārīṇī, Śivadhārīṇī, Siddhudāyīṇī or Śaktidhārīṇī—Acchoda, (93) Amṛtā—the Benā, (94) Urvaśī—Badarī, (95) Osadhī or Ausadhī—Uttarakuru, (96) Kuśodakā—Kuśadvīpa, (97) Manmathā—Hemakūṭa, (98) Satyavādīṇī—Mukuta or Kumuda, (99) Vandaniyā or Vandīkā—Aśvattha, (100) Nīdhī—in the home of Vaiśravaṇa, (101) Gāyatrī in grammar, (102) Pārvatī in the company of Śiva, (103) Indrāṇī in the world of gods, (104) Sarasvatī in the mouths of Brahman, (105) Prabhā (light) in the solar orb, (106) Vaiṣnavī among the Divine Mothers,<sup>1</sup> (107) Arundhatī among chaste women, (108) Tilottamā among beautiful girls, (109) Brahmakalā in the hearts of men, and (110) Śakti (strength) in the living beings.<sup>2</sup> It will be seen that the names are actually more

<sup>1</sup> They are usually regarded as seven or eight in number

Cf. ब्राह्मी मातेश्वरी चैव कौमारी वैष्णवी तथा ।

मातेश्वरी चैव वाराही चासुण्डा सप्त मातरः ॥ or

ब्राह्मी मातेश्वरी चण्डी वाराही वैष्णवी तथा ।

कौमारी चैव चासुण्डा चर्चिकेत्यष्ट मातरः ॥

(Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *mātr*). In place of Cāmundā of the first list, the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (ch. 88) gives Nārasimhī. These seven names are found in the list of the eight *nāyikās* or *yoginīs* to be worshipped along with the form of the mother-goddess called Kausikī-Candikā in the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, ch. 61, 84.

ब्रह्माणी प्रथमा प्रोक्ता ततो मातेश्वरी मता ।

कौमारी चैव वाराही वैष्णवी पञ्चमी तथा ॥

नारसिंही तथैवेन्द्री शिवदूती तथाष्टमी ॥

For Śivadūtī, cf. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, loc. cit.

In place of Carikā of the second list, the *Tantrasāra* (pp. 314, 320) reads Candikā or Mahālakṣmī. It is not known if they are associated with the eight Bhairavas.

असिताङ्गो रुद्रश्चण्डः क्रोधश्चोन्मत्तभैरवः ।

कपाली भीषणश्चैव सङ्घारश्चाष्टभैरवः ॥ (ibid., pp. 332f)

For a list of sixteen Mothers, see *Prānatosanī Tantra*, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> See the text of the list edited in Appendix I. The *Bṛhan-Nīla* (Patala V) and *Prānatosanī* (pp. 237-38) *Tantras* supply a later list of similar nature.

Cf. पुष्करे कमलाक्षी च गयायाश्च गयेश्वरी ।

अक्षया अक्षयवटेश्वरीऽमरकण्टके (च 1 अक्षयाक्षयवटकेमरेश्वरी) ॥

वराहपर्वते च ल वाराही धरणीप्रिया ।

नर्मदा (च 1 दुर्मदा) नर्मदायाश्च कालिन्दी यमुनाजले ॥

शिवदूता च गङ्गायामम्बा देहलिकाग्रमे (च 1 ते) ।

कुमारधामे कौमारी प्रभासे सुरपूजिता ॥

काश्याश्चैवान्नपूर्णा च द्राविडे च सरस्वती ।

महाविद्या सप्तमेधा अगस्त्याग्रमके तथा ॥

than 108 in number, but that a number of the holy places are only imaginary. The fact that even in an attempt to find out 108 actual *tirthas* that

कौशौतकिप्रिय नाम कौशिकान्त(११ घृत°)कौशिके ।  
 सारदा सरयूतीरे शोणे च कनकेश्वरी ॥  
 अमरकाशा यदा (११ सदा) देवी ज्योतिर्मय्यम्बिसगमे ।  
 (११ स्वप्रकाशवशादेवि ज्योतिर्मती ह्यसङ्गमे ।)  
 त्रीनामा (११ त्रीरह) त्रीगिरी चैव काली कालोदके तथा ॥  
 महादेवी महातीर्थे नौला (११ महादेवी महाबुद्धिर्नी°) चोत्तरमानसे ।  
 मातङ्गी स्थार्मातङ्गे (११ मातङ्गिनी मतङ्गे, स्थान्मतङ्गे) च गुप्ताचिर्विष्णुपादके  
 (११. °पादुके) ॥  
 खर्गदा खर्गमार्गे च गोदावर्या गवेश्वरी ।  
 विमुक्तिश्चैव गोमत्या विपाशाया (११ विप्रगा वा) महाबला ॥  
 शतद्रवा (शतद्रौ, ११ शतद्रा, शतप्रभा) शतरूपा च चन्द्रभागा च तत्र वै ।  
 ऐरावत्याश्च (इरा°) ईर्नाम सिद्धिदा सिद्धितीरके ॥  
 दक्षपञ्चनदे चैव दक्षिणा ल प्रकीर्तिता ।  
 शौरसे (११ शौजसे, शौजिसे) वीर्यदा च ल सङ्गमा तीर्थसङ्गमे ॥  
 बाह्यदायामनन्ता (११ °सन्ता) ल कुरुचेने रणेक्षणा (११. °रणेक्षणा; व[रु?] पेक्षणा) ।  
 तपस्विनी पुण्यतमा भारती भरताश्रमे ।  
 सुकथा नैमिषारण्ये पाण्डो च पाण्डुरानना (११ °वानना) ।  
 विशालाया (११ विशाल्याश्च) विशालाक्षी मुण्डशृङ्गे शिवात्मिका ॥  
 अद्वा कनखले तीर्थे शुद्धबुद्धिर्मुनीश्वरे ।  
 सुवेशा सुमना गौरी मानसे च सरोवरे ॥  
 नन्दापुरे महानन्दा ललिता ललितापुरे ।  
 ब्रह्माणी ब्रह्मशिरसि महापातकनाशिनी ॥  
 पूर्णिमा चेन्दुमत्याश्च (११ चेन्दुमत्याद्यै) सिङ्गयन्ती (११. सिङ्गोरति°)  
 प्रिया सदा ।  
 जाङ्गवौसङ्गमे दक्षि (११ दक्षि.) खभा ल पिढतुद्धिदा ॥  
 पुण्या ल वेणुवत्याश्च (११ वङ्गसितायाश्च) प्रपायां पापनाशिनी ।  
 शखसच्चारिणी (११ °सच्चारणे) चैव घोररूपा महादेवी ॥  
 खर्गोच्छेदे (११ खर्गोच्छेदे) महारात्रि. प्रबला च महावने ।  
 भद्रा च भद्रकाली च भद्रेश्वरीश्वरप्रिया ॥  
 भद्रेश्वरे रमा विष्णुप्रिया विष्णुपदे तथा ।  
 दाक्षणा नर्मदोच्छेदे (११. °च्छेदे) कावेर्या कपिलेश्वरी ॥  
 मेदिनी कृष्णवेषायां सभेदे शुभवासिनी ।  
 अद्वा च शुक्रतीर्थे च प्रभासे चेश्वरी तथा ॥  
 (शुद्धा च शुद्धतीर्थे च प्रभा रामेश्वरे तथा ॥) °  
 महाबोधो महाबुद्धि. पाटले पाटलेश्वरी ।  
 सुरसा (११ सुबला) नागतीर्थे च नागेशी नागवन्दिता ॥

could be associated with Śakti rather arbitrarily the author does not refer to Kāmarūpa and Uddiyāna may point to the author's aversion for these

मदन्ते च मदन्ती च प्रमदा च मदन्तिका ।

मेघखना मेघवने (१. ० वासे ; मेघखना मेघवने , मेघबला) विद्यत्

सौदामिनीच्छटा ॥

रामेश्वरे मन्दासिद्धिर्वीरा (१. ० मन्दासिद्धिः, ० वीरा) चैलापुरे सती ।

प्रिया रमणके (१. ० प्रिये , प्रियाल्लभार्गके) दुर्गा सुवेशा सुरसुन्दरी ॥

कात्यायनी मन्दादेवौ गोवर्द्धने तथात्मिका (१. ० खिलामिका, ० नैऋतिका तथा) ।

शुभेश्वरी हरिखन्दे पुरखन्दे पुरेश्वरी ॥

प्रथूदके मन्दावेगा मैनाकेऽखिलवर्द्धिनी ।

इन्द्रनीले मन्दाकान्तौ (१. ० कान्ता) रत्नवेशा सुशोभना ॥

माहेश्वरी मन्दानादे मन्दातेजा मन्दाबले (० वने , १. ० बला) ।

पद्मासरसि सारङ्गा (१. ० पद्मासरसि, शारङ्गा) पञ्चवर्णा (१. ० कन्या) तपस्विनी ॥

वटौपर्वटिकायाश्च ( वटपर्वटिका , १. ० वटौशै ) पञ्चवर्गा (१. ० सर्ववर्णे)

सुरङ्गिनी ।

सज्जमे विन्ध्यगङ्गाया (१. ० गङ्गाया) विन्ध्ये (१. ० विन्ध्य) त्रिविन्ध्यवासिनी ॥

मन्दानन्दा नन्दतटे (१. ० वटे) गङ्गावामाचले (१. ० वाटाचले) शिवा ।

आर्यावर्त्त मन्दायां ल विमुक्तिर्त्तणमोचने ॥

अष्टदशे च चासुण्डा तन्त्रे त्रैगौतमेश्वरी (१. ० तन्त्रेशी) ।

वेदमयी ब्रह्मविद्या वशिष्ठे (१. ० वाशिष्ठे) लम्बवती ॥

हारीते हरिणाक्षौ च ब्रह्मावर्त्तं व्रजेश्वरी (१. ० व्रते ) ।

गायत्री चैव सावित्री कुशावर्त्तं कुशप्रिया ॥

हृषेश्वरी मन्दातीर्थे परहृषेश्वरेश्वरी (१. ० परहृषेश्वरीति च) ।

पिण्डारकवने (१. ० पिण्डारकरणे) धन्या सुरसा सुखदायिनी ॥

नारायणी वैष्णवी च गङ्गाद्वारे विमुक्तिदा ।

त्रैविद्या बदरीतीर्थे रामतीर्थे (१. ० वामं) मन्दाधृति ॥

जयन्तौ च जयन्ते ल विजयन्तेऽपराजिता ।

विजया च मन्दाशुद्धिः सारदायाश्च सारदा ॥

सुभद्रे भद्रदा भव्या भद्रकालेश्वरी तथा ।

मन्दाभद्रा (१. ० मन्दाभद्रौ) भद्रकाली (१. ० मन्दाकाली) हरतीर्थे (१. ० हयं)

गवैश्वरी ॥

वेददा वेदमाता च वेदेशा (१. ० विदेशे) वेदमस्तके ।

शोघवत्या (१. ० युवत्याश्च) मन्दाविद्या मन्दानद्या मन्मोदया ॥

चण्डा च विपदे (१. ० चाचपदे) चैव जगलिङ्गे वलिप्रिया ।

मालदर्श (१. ० देशे) जगन्माता करवीरपुरे सती ॥

मालिनी (१. ० मालवे) रङ्गिनी वामा परमा परमेश्वरी ।

सप्तगोदावरे तीर्थे देवर्षिरखिलेश्वरी (देवी त्रौरं, १. ० देवर्षावं, देवर्षीशां) ॥

अयोध्याया भवानी च जयदा जयमङ्गला ।

माधवी मधुरायाश्च देवकी यादवेश्वरी ॥

out-and-out Tantric *tirthas* It cannot possibly be held that the text was composed before Uddiyāna and Kāmarūpa attained to emmence

हन्दागोपेश्वरी (११ गोपीश्वरी) राधा रासहन्दावने रसे (११ रसा) ।

कात्यायनी मन्त्रामाया भद्रकाली कलावती ॥

चन्द्रमाला मन्त्राशान्तिर्महायोगिन्यधीश्वरी (११ मन्त्रायोगा म०) ।

ब्रजेश्वरी यशोदेति ब्रजश्रीगोकुलेश्वरी ॥

काञ्चा कनककाञ्ची स्यारवन्त्यामतिपावनी (११ स्याद०) ।

विद्या विद्यापुरे चैव विमला नीलपर्वते ॥

रामेश्वरी सेतुबन्धे (११ राजेशी खेतगङ्गेशी) विमला पुरुषोत्तमे ।

विरजा यागपुर्याञ्च (११ नागपुर्याञ्च) भद्रःपि (११ भद्राञ्च, भद्रेशी)

भद्रकर्णिका ॥

तमोलिप्ते तमोग्नी च खाद्या सागरसङ्गमे ।

कुलश्रीवर्षहृदिष्व (११ °वर्ष०) माधवी माधवप्रिया ॥

मङ्गला मङ्गले कोटे राडे मङ्गलचण्डिका ।

ज्वालामुखी शिवापीठे मन्दरे (११ मन्दारे) भुवनेश्वरी ॥

कालीघटे (११ °घाटे) गुह्यकाली किरीटे च महेश्वरी ।

किरीटेश्वरी महादेवो लिङ्गाख्ये लिङ्गवाहिनी ॥

\* \* \* \* \*

शमरेशमहापीठे कुशतुङ्गारसङ्गक (११ ईशतुङ्गार०) ।

तत्र दुर्गाद्वय नाम चण्डिका च महेश्वरी ॥

प्रभासे सोमनाथोऽसौ (११ °नाथादौ) देवी च पुष्करेक्षणा ।

देवदेवाधिप शम्भुर्नैमिषे च महेश्वर ॥

तत्र प्रजा च देवी च शिवानी लिङ्गधारिणी ।

पुष्करे च राजगन्धि पुरङ्गता महेश्वरी ॥

श्रीपर्वते प्रिय नाम (११ प्रिया नाम्ना) शङ्करस्त्रिपुरान्तक ।

मायावी शङ्करी (११ माया विषङ्करी) तत्र भक्तानामखिलार्थदा ॥

ज्योतिर मन्त्रास्थाने शङ्करी च त्रिशूलिनी ।

त्रिशूली (११ त्रिशूल ) शङ्करस्तत्र सर्वपापविमोचक ॥

आद्यातकपुरे (११ °तकेश्वरे) सूक्तं सूक्ताख्या परमेश्वरी ।

(मन्त्राकाली मन्त्राकाली मन्त्राकाली महेश्वरी ॥

मध्ये शिवस्य [११ शिवस्य] सर्वत्र सर्वाणी परमेश्वरी ।

केदारेश्वर ईशानो देवी सन्मार्गदायिनी ॥

भैरवे भैरव शम्भुर्भैरवी परमेश्वरी ।)

गर्गक्षेत्रे (११ गण०) मङ्गलाख्या शिवोऽयं प्रपितामह ॥

कुशक्षेत्रे शिवः स्थाणुः शिवा स्थाणुप्रिया परा ।

इष्टनामे स्वयम्भूश्च देवी स्वायम्भुवा मता ॥

अथ कनखले प्रोक्त शिवोऽयं (शिवोऽयं, ११ शिवोऽयं) शिववक्त्रभा ।

विमलेश्वरे विश्वशम्भुर्विद्या (११ °विश्वस्तु ; °रिष्टा) विश्वप्रिया सदा ॥

*Freedom of the Writers on the Pithas from any Common Tradition.*

We have seen that the lists of the Pithas and those of the Devis and Bhairavas connected with each of them are variously prepared by different authors and have a great deal of discrepancy among them. There was apparently little influence on these writers of something like a recognized tradition about the number of the Pithas, the names of the deities worshipped at them, and their association with particular limbs of the mother-goddess. Names of the *tirtha*, Devī and Bhairava were often fabricated by the writers and the association of a *tirtha* with one of Sati's limbs was also determined usually by their individual imagination. The fact that in many cases entire countries are mentioned as Pithas suggests that the writers had only vague ideas about some of the *tirthas* and often took resort to imagination. That mediæval writers on the subject of the Pithas took the greatest liberty in these respects is clearly demonstrated by the sixteenth century Bengali

अष्टदाशे महानन्दो महानन्दा महेश्वरी ।  
 महान्तको महेन्द्रे च पार्वती च महान्तका ॥  
 भीमेश्वरी भीमपौत्रे शिवा भीमेश्वरी तथा ।  
 वस्त्रपादे ( वस्त्रापथे ? ) भवनाम भवानी भुवनेश्वरी ॥  
 अद्रिकूटे महायोगौ रुद्राणी परमेश्वरी ।  
 अविमुक्तो महादेवो विशालाक्षी शिवा परा ॥  
 महालये ( व १ महाभाये ) हरौ रुद्रो महाभाग शिवा तथा ।  
 महाचलश्च गोकर्णे शिवभद्रा ( व १ शिवा ज्ञेया ) च चण्डिका ॥  
 भद्रकर्णे महादेवो भद्रा च कर्णिका तथा ( च भद्रकर्णिका ) ।  
 सुपर्णाक्षे ( व १ सुवर्णाक्षे ) सहस्राक्ष उत्यला परमेश्वरी ॥  
 स्थाणुसन्ने शिवस्त्रा त्रीश्वरस्त्रा ( स्थाणुसन्न शिव स्त्राखीश्वरस्त्र , व. १. स्थाणुसन्ने  
 शिवस्त्रा त्रीश्वर स्त्रामीश्वरा ; शिव स्थाणुरीशस्त्रा ) त्रीधरा शिवा ।  
 कमलालये ( व. १ कलालये ) महास्थाने ( व. १ °दाने ) कमलाक्षो महेश्वर ॥  
 कमलाक्षी महेशानि सकलार्थप्रदायिनी ।  
 जगलण्डे ( व १ जगला तु ) कपर्दी च प्रसरा ( व १ प्रसभा ) च महेश्वरी ॥  
 जङ्घरेता वरेण्ये ( व १ त्वरण्डे ; श्वरण्ये ) च सन्ध्याख्या परमेश्वरी ।  
 माकोटास्ये ( माकोटास्ये , व १. साकोटे च ) महाकोट शिवा च मुण्डकेश्वरी ॥  
 ( मण्डलेश्वरपीठे च शङ्कर खण्डवी शिवा ) ॥ \*  
 ( कालञ्जरे नौलकण्डो हर [ हर ] काली शिवा मता ।  
 खलेश्वरे ( व. १ °श्वरो ) खलोनाम्ना खलाख्या परमेश्वरी ॥ )  
 मण्डलेश्वरपीठे ( व १. मातुले ° ) च करवीराचलेश्वर ( व १. °रार्चशेश्वरा ) ।  
 श्रीमद्व्याघ्रपुरे साक्षाद्भरनामा सभापति ॥  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 अस्मिन् महोत्तमे स्थाने शिवगङ्गाख्यमद्भुतम् ।  
 तडागमस्ति तत्तीरे दक्षिणे दृश्यते शिवर ॥  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 [ अष्टोत्तरसहस्रान्तु जपेद्ब्रह्मासुदान्वित । ]

poet Mukundarāma in the *Dakṣa yajña-bhāṅga* section of his *Candāmangalā*. According to an interpolated passage found in some manuscripts of this work the following nine places are the Pīthas where Sati's limbs fell (1) Chitrala (between the Kharagpur and Tatanagar Railway Stations on the B N R) where Sati's left foot fell and where the Devī is Rukminī (apparently the Sanskritized form of the name of the aboriginal deity Rankinī whose worship is widely prevalent in the Burdwan Division of Bengal and the adjoining region of the west),<sup>1</sup> (2) Yājapura (in Orissa) where the right foot fell and where the Devī is Virajā, (3) Rājabolahāta (near Serampur in the Hooghly District) where the left hand fell and where the Devī is Viśāllocanī, (4) Bāhāngā (near Dhanakhalī in the Hooghly District) where the right hand fell and where the Devī is Rājesvari, (5) Kṣiragrāma (near Katwa in the Burdwan District) where the back fell and where the Devī is Yogādya, (6) Nagarakota where the head fell and where the Devī is Jvālāmukhī, (7) Hinglāja (in Baluchistan) where the navel fell,<sup>2</sup> (8) Kāmākhyā where the central part of Sati's body fell and where the Devī is Kāmarūpa-Kāmākhyā, and (9) Vārānaśi where the chest fell and where the Devī is Viśālākṣī.<sup>3</sup> Needless to say that the unimportant

<sup>1</sup> For human sacrifices in the Rankinī temple at Burdwan, see an instance cited in the newspapers in January, 1837, and quoted by B N Banerji in *Samvādpātre Śekāler Kathā*, Vol II, pp 532-34.

<sup>2</sup> Owing to defect in the text, the name of the Devī at Hinglāja cannot be determined.

<sup>3</sup> Cf Calcutta University ed., pp 49-50.

चक्र कीटरूप धरि                      शरीरे प्रवेश करि  
 ग्रन्थे ग्रन्थे काटिते लागिल ।  
 वामचरण निहा                      पड़िल ये घाटशिला  
 तार नाम रुक्मिणी कहल ॥  
 दक्षिण चरणवरे                      पड़िल ये साजपुरे  
 तार नाम कहल विरजा ।  
 देवता सकल मेलि                      सिद्धपीठ तारे वलि  
 सुरपति तार करे पूजा ॥  
 चक्रो सय ज्ञान काटे                      पड़े राजबोलहाटे  
 विशाललोचनी महेश्वरी ।  
 सतीर दक्षिण हाथ                      वालिडाडाय डैल पात  
 राजेश्वरी वलि नाम धरि ॥  
 तवे सदाशिव धाय                      महापरित्रम पाय  
 क्षीरग्रामे करिला विश्राम ।  
 ताहे छलदेश पड़े                      देवेर आनन्द बाडे  
 योगदा कहल तार नाम ॥  
 तवे प्रभु भूर्जटे                      गेलिन नगरकोटे  
 दिवसेक रहिल पिणाकी ।  
 मस्तक काटे चक्रकीट                      सेइ महा सिद्धपीठ  
 तार नाम डैल ज्वालामुखी ॥

rural *deva-sthānas* in Rādhā, such as Rājabolahāta and Bāhdāngā, received the status of Pitha in the hands of Mukundarāma merely because the poet was originally an inhabitant of the village of Dāmūnyā in the Burdwan District. The *Pīthanūrnaya* (in its accepted form), likewise, includes in the list of Pithas Chittagong, Tipperah, Nalahati, Vakresvara, Kiritakona, Jessore, Kalghat, etc., which are late and unimportant *deva-sthānas* in Bengal,

तवे त देवेर राज	उत्तरिल्ला हिल्लज
नाभिखल पडिल तयाय ।	
देवकरे तन्त्रमान (?)	सेइ महासिद्धस्थान
जपिले पातक नाश पाय ॥	
ईशाने ईशान थाय	उत्तरिल्ला कामिख्खाय
तथा हैल देवीप्रियस्थान ।	
मध्य अन्न काटे कौट	सेइ महासिद्धपीठ
काडरूप कामाख्या तार नाम ॥	
तवे त कैलासवासो	उत्तरिल्ला वाराणसी
वच खल पडिल ताहाते ।	
विशालाची रूप हैल	सर्व देव पूजा कैल
उठे शिव शूल करि हाते ॥	
प्रसु शूल शून्य देखि	सेचेते सजल खांखि
अस्त्रिखण्ड पाइल शूलआगे ।	
कावण्य पदान्यवलि	सेइ अस्त्रि कण्डे भरि
ध्यान करि वसिलेन योगे ॥	

It is very interesting to note that the name of Kālighāta near Calcutta is not found in this list prepared in South-west Bengal possibly a little later than the composition of the *Candāmangala*. The popularity of Kālighāta is probably later than the foundation of Calcutta by Job Charnock in 1690. Cf. *supra*, p. 24, note 1. Certain editions of Vamśidāsa's *Manasāmangala*, said to be composed in 1570 A.D., has

एतेक शनिथा हरि वज्रकौट चइया ।  
 खण्ड खण्ड करि काटे अङ्गे प्रवेशिया ॥  
 सतीरू माथार केश पडिलेक यथा ।  
 काशी नाने तीर्थ हैल पूजये देवता ॥  
 चक्षुगुला खसिया ये पडिल येखाने ।  
 उग्रतारा नाम तीर्थ विख्यात भुवने ॥  
 मुखह'ते जिह्वा पडिल येथा याकि ।  
 देवेर दुर्लभ तीर्थ नाम ज्वालामुखौ ॥  
 नाभि काटिया विष्णु पाडिल येखाने ।  
 नाभिगया नाम ताहा विख्यात भुवने ॥  
 दुइ अङ्ग आखे माच केह नाहि बाडे ।  
 नौलाचल गिरि गया योनिसुद्रा पड़े ॥  
 कामाख्या नाम तार चारिवेदे गाइ ।

Note the non-mention of Kalghat and the differences of this account from the other Mahal Kalkattā in Sarkār Satgāon is, however, mentioned in the *'Am-i-Akbari* as paying in 1582, together with two other Mauzas, a land revenue of Rs 23,905 (*J. A. S. B.*, 1873, p. 217)

but omits such important old names as Uddiyāna and Pūrnagiri. The absence of such celebrated deities as Vindhya-vāsini is also striking. Some obscure names, e.g. Maniveda, Ratnāvali, etc., do not appear in the earlier lists. Another feature of the list is that it (in its usually accepted form) not only regards the Devi's *hāra* (necklace), *kundala* (ear-ring) *kirita* (crown) and *nūpura* (anklet) as so many of her limbs but, strangely enough, even includes in the same category her *manas* (mind). The author's knowledge of Sanskrit was probably poor, while the copyists and modifiers of the work could hardly claim any knowledge of the language. As a result of this, different versions of the text before us are full of discrepancies and mistakes often of an extremely baffling nature. In some manuscripts of the work the text is found in an exceptionally modified form. It will be interesting to compare the probable original text of the *Pīthanūrnaya* (reconstructed on the basis of Manuscript G and the *Annadāmangala*) with the late modification in Manuscript H both quoted in Appendix I (A and B).

*The List of Pīthas in the Pīthanūrnaya (Mahāpīthanūrnayana)*

Reserving for the foot-notes on the text discussion on the discrepancies as regards the names of the Pīthas, the Pītha-devatās (forms of the Devi), the Ksetrādhisas (Bharavas) and the Devi's *anga-pratyanga* (limbs including ornaments, etc.), the descriptive list supplied by the *Pīthanūrnaya* (*Mahāpīthanūrnayana*) may be offered in a tabular form.

Number	Pītha	Anga-pratyanga	Devī	Bhavarava
1	Hingulā Hingulāta	Brahmarandhra	Koṭṭari Kottavi Kottariśā	Bhimalocana
2	Karavīra Śarkarāra	Trinetra	Mahisamardini	Krodhīśa Krodheśa
3	Sugandhā	Nāsikā	Sunandā Sugandhā	Tryambaka
4	Kāsmīra	Kantha	Mahāmāyā	Trisandhyeś- vara Trinetreśvara
5	Jvālāmukhī	Jihvā	Siddhidā Ambikā	Unmatta
6	Jālandhara	Stana	Tripuramāhni Tripuranāśmī	Bhīṣaṇa Īśāna
7	Vaidyanātha	Hṛdaya	Jayadurgā	Vaidyanātha
8	Nepālā	Jānu	Mahāmāyā	Kapālī
9	Mānasa Mālava	Dakṣiṇa-hasta ,	Dākṣāyaṇī	Hara Harī Amara
10	Virājaksetra in Utkala	Nābhī	Vimalā Vijayā	Jagannātha Jaya
11	Gandakī Gandaka	Ganda	Gandakī Candī	Cakrapāṇī Jagannātha
12	Bahulā Bāhulā	Vāma-bāhu	Bahulā Bāhulā	Bhīruka Tivraka
13	Ujjayinī Ujānī Ujjanī Urjanī Urjayinī	Kūrpara	Mangalā Mangalacandī	Kapilāmbara Kapileśvara



<i>Number</i>	<i>Pīṭha</i>	<i>Anga-pratyāṅga</i>	<i>Devī</i>	<i>Bharrava</i>
14	Cattala (Candrasekhara)	Daksina-bāhu	Bhavānī	Candraśekhara
15	Tripurā	Daksina-pāda	Tripurā Tripurasundarī	Nala Tripureśa Tripurākṣa
16	Trisrotā (Sans <i>Trisrotas</i> ) Trotā	Vāma-pāda	Bhrāmārī Amārī	Īśvara Ambara Amara
17	Kāmagiri in Kāmarūpa (Ten Pīṭhas were originally located here)	Mahāmudrā (Yoni)	Kāmākhyā	Umānanda Śivānanda Rāmānanda Rāvānanda
18	Yugādyā (Kṣīragrāma)	Dakṣma-pādān- gustha	Yugādyā (Yogādyā)	Kṣīrakhandā Kṣīrakanṭha
19	Kālīpīṭha Kālapīṭha (Kālghat)	Dakṣma-pādān- guli	Kālī	Nakuleśa Nakulīśa Nalīśa
20	Prayāga	Hast-āṅgulī	Lalitā	Bhava
21	Jayantī Jayantā	Vāma-jāṅghā	Jayantī	Kramadīśvara
22	Kurīta Kurītakonā	Kurīta	Bhuvaneśī Vimalā	Siddhūrūpa Samvarta
23	Manikarnikā at Vārānāsī	Kundala	Viśālākṣī	Kālā
24	Kanyāśrama (see p. 37, note 1)	Prsthā Drstī	Sarvānī	Nimīśa
25	Kurukṣetra	[Dakṣma]-gulpha	Sāvitrī	Sthānu Snāyu Sarvānanda
26	Manūveda Manūvedika Mānavedaka	Manūbandha	Gāyatrī	
27	Srīśaila Śrīhatta	Grīvā	Mahālakṣmī Mahāmāyā	Samvarānanda Samarānanda Sarvānanda
28	Kāñcī	Kankālā	Devagarbhā	Ruru
29	Kālamādhava	Nīṭamba	Kālī	Asītāṅga
30	Narmadā Śona Śaila	Nīṭamba	Śoṇā Narmadā	Bhadrāsena
31	Rāmāgiri Rājagiri Rāmākīnī	Stana Nāsā Nalā	Śivānī	Canda
32	Vṛndāvana (Umāvana) Keśajāla	Keśa	Umā Kātyāyanī	Bhūteśa Kṛṣṇanātha
33	Śuci Anala	Ūrdhva-danta	Nārāyanī	Samhāra Samkrūra
34	Pañcasāgara	Adhodanta	Vārāhī	Mahārudra
35	Karatoyātata	Vāma-karna Talpa Gulpha	Aparnā	Vāmana Vāmeśa

<i>Number</i>	<i>Pītha</i>	<i>Anga-pratyanga</i>	<i>Devī</i>	<i>Bhairava</i>
36	Śrīparvata	Daksina-karna Talpa [Daksina]-gulpha	Sundarī	Sundarānanda Sunandānanda
37	Vibhāsa	Vāma-gulpha	Bhīmarūpā Kapālīnī	Kapālī Sarvānanda
38	Prabhāsa	Udara Adhara	Candīabhāgā	Vakratunda
39	Bhairavapārvata Bhīrupārvata	Ūrdhvostha Ostha Tunda	Avantī	Lambakarna Namrakarna
40	Janasthāna Jala-sthala	Civuka	Bhrāmārī	Vikṛta Vikṛtākṣa
41	Godāvarītīra	[Vāma]-ganda	Viśveśī Rākīnī	Viśveśa Dandapānī Vatsanābha
42	Ratnāvalī Ratnavatī	Daksina-skandha	Kumārī Śivā	Śiva Kumāra
43	Mithilā	Vāma-skandha	Umā Mahādevī	Mahodara

(The following Pīthas were omitted in the original text which located ten Pīthas in Kāmarūpa )

<i>Number</i>	<i>Pītha</i>	<i>Anga-pratyanga</i>	<i>Devī</i>	<i>Bhairava</i>
44	Nalāhātī	Nalā	Kālī	Yogīsa Yogesa
45	Kālighāta (Kālīpītha)	Munda	Jayadurgā	Krodhīśa Krodheśa
46	Vakīśvara	Manas	Mahīsamardīnī	Vakranātha
47	Yasora	Pānī	Yasodhārī	Canda Candesa
48	Attahāsa	Ostha	Phullārā	Viśveśa
49	Nandīpura	Hāra	Nandīnī	Nandīśvara
50	Lankā	Nūpura	Indrākṣī	Rākṣaseśvara Nandīśvara
51	Virāta	Padāṅgulī	Ambikā	Amṛta Amṛtākṣa <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For Manibandha, a name created out of a confused text, and for Magadha and Karnāta interpolated by later modifiers of the text who could not make out 51 names from the text before them, see foot-notes on the text. Bhāratacandra omitted the last eight names together with Vārānāsī and Kanyāsrama but recognized the fictitious Manibandha, while our G text omits only the last eight names and thus makes the number of Pīthas 52 (with Vārānāsī and Kanyāsrama and with the extra name Pīthas located at Kāmarūpa). It seems that the original text made a reference either to Kanyāsrama or to Vārānāsī. The fifth Pātala of the late *Brhan-Nīlatantra* contains no less than five lists of Pīthas. Four out of them together with another from the sixth Pātala of the same Tantra have already been quoted (see above, pp 21, note 1, 25, note 3, 28, note 2). A list like the following one quoted from the *Brhan-Nīla* may be regarded as the source of the belief, prevalent in some parts of Bengal, that the number of Pīthas is fifty-two (cf our G text enumerating fifty-two Pīthas owing to confusion).

कामेश कामरूपे ल पूर्णं काश्या विसृजिता ।

नेपाखे पुण्यदा पुण्या सुवेश पौण्ड्रवर्धने ॥

*Modification of the Pīthanūnaya (Mahāpīthanūrūpana) in the Śvacarita*

An attempt was made to utilize and improve upon the text of the *Pīthanūnaya* (*Mahāpīthanūrūpana*) by the author of the *Śvacarita* which

धर्मबुद्धि सुधा चैव सुखदा पापमोचनी ।  
 पारस्ये परमानन्दा ब्रह्माणी कान्यकुब्जके ॥  
 पुष्पाद्रौ च महापुष्पा पूर्णा यज्ञफलेश्वरी ।  
 कात्यायन्यर्बुदे देवि धनदा शिववक्त्रभा ॥  
 एका चैकाग्रके देशे सुरूपेशाग्रकेश्वरे ।  
 त्रिपुरे सुन्दरी दिव्यरूपाखिलमनोहरा ॥  
 कामकोटे महापीठे प्रमदा मदनालसा ।  
 कामेश्वरी रतिश्चैव भृगुपुर्यां व्रजेश्वरी ॥  
 ब्रह्मेशा च तपोलक्ष्मी कैलासे भुवनेश्वरी ।  
 केदारे वरदा चैवान्ता चन्द्रपुरे सिता ॥  
 कलावती प्रभेशा च श्रीपुरे श्रीरमा प्रिया ।  
 कुमारी ब्रह्मचर्या च कन्या च कन्यकापुरे ॥  
 जालन्धरे महापीठे नागर्याम्रिसुखी शुभा ।  
 ज्वालासुखी लोलजिह्वा सुवेशा च सुरत्रिणी ॥  
 मालवे च महाविद्या विल्वपीठे च रूपिणी ।  
 रूपवती महादेवी देवीकोटेऽखिलेश्वरी ॥  
 गोकर्णे प्रियपीठे त्व रद्राणी सर्वमङ्गला ।  
 पवने हरपीठे च गन्धत्रीश्च सुगन्धिका ॥  
 ऋद्धिदासे महापीठे भीमकाली च कालिका ।  
 विरजे मुक्तिहेतुश्च नमः खस्तिस्वधामयी ॥  
 जयश्रीराजलक्ष्मीश्च सुवेशा राजपर्वते ।  
 एलापुरे महासम्यक् मातेश्वरी महापथे ॥  
 गायत्री ब्रह्मरूपा च तत्सदोङ्कारपीठके ।  
 जय्य जयपुरे देवी जयदा जयमङ्गला ॥  
 विजया मङ्गला गौरी उज्जयिन्या सदाशिवा ।  
 गौरीश्वरी महादेवी हरिद्रापीठके शिवा ॥  
 क्षीरपीठे युगाद्या च क्षीराब्जा नियमप्रभा ।  
 राजेश्वरी महालक्ष्मीर्हस्तिनापुरवासिनी ॥  
 कमला विमला भक्तौ रौद्री च नीलपर्वते ।  
 यागेश्वरी त्रिवेणी च त्रिखोता ब्रह्मरूपिणी ॥  
 सिन्धुस्थली कामधेनु षष्ठी षष्ठीपुरे प्रिये ।  
 माया मायापुरे देवी सुरभौ सौरभेश्वरी ॥  
 विलासिनी महानन्दा प्रियचन्दनपर्वते ।  
 महाव्रजेश्वरी श्रेष्ठा भ्रमनेश्वरपीठके ॥  
 भवानी भवभक्ता च श्रीशैले शिववक्त्रभा ।  
 देवता या स्वर्गलक्ष्मी कनकामरपर्वते ॥

has been analyzed by N N Vasu in the *Viśvakosa*, s v. *pītha*. This work supplies a list of 51 Mahā-Pīthas (great Pīthas) and another of 26 Upa-Pīthas (Pīthas of lesser importance). Although the word *upapītha* is traced in such works as the *Sādhnamālā* (p. 479), no early lists of the less important Pīthas are known to us. The *Śvacharita* closely follows the text of the *Pīthanirnaya* in regard to 41 (actually 42, but the name Manibandha is due to textual confusion) out of the 51 great Pīthas, the remaining 10 names as given in the latter not being found in that work. It is interesting to note in this connection that Bhāratacandra, who mentions 42 Pīthas (including Manibandha) by name and locates 10 Pīthas at one of them to make the number 51, closely follows in his *Annadāmangala* the readings of the *Śvacharita* in spite of his avowed indebtedness to the *Mantracūdāmanī* (for *Tantracūdāmanī*) *Tantra*. These facts suggest that the original text of the *Pīthanirnaya* actually but partially followed the *Kubjikā Tantra* in offering only the names of 12 Pīthas while the number of the Pīthas was made 51 by locating the ten Mahāvīdyās (manifestations of Śakti conceived in imitation of the Daśāvatāra of Viṣṇu) at Kāmarūpa. If such was the case, it is tempting to suggest that some verses containing the names of certain obscure Pīthas especially in the concluding part of the *Pīthanirnaya* text (of verses 48–55) were added to the original text at a later date. They may have been inspired and influenced by the *Śvacharita*. The above suggestion seems to be strongly supported by the fact that verses 48–55 of our *Pīthanirnaya* text containing the names of Nalāhāṭī, Kālīghāṭa, Vakreśvara, Yaśora, Attahāsa, Nandipura, Lankā and Virātadeśa (including the variants Karnāṭa and Magadha) are conspicuous by their absence from some manuscripts of the *Pīthanirnaya*, of our G text.

The evidence of the *Annadāmangala* has been quoted in the foot-notes on the text of the *Pīthanirnaya*, while the descriptive list of the *Śvacharita* is offered below in a tabular form.

*List of the Pīthas (Mahāpīthas) and Upapīthas in the Śvacharita.*

A—Mahāpīthas

Number	Pītha	Anga-pratyanga	Devī	Bharrava
1	Hingulā	Brahmarandhra	Kottarī	Bhīmalocana
2	Śarkara	Trinetra	Mahīsamardīnī	Krodhīśa
3	Tārā	Netrāṁśa-tārā	Tārīnī	Unmatta

उमा गौरी सती सत्या पार्वती क्षिप्रपर्वते ।  
 इन्द्रेश्वरी सुरारध्या माहेन्द्रे जगदीश्वरी ॥  
 अक्ष्मा भोगेश्वरी नित्या श्रीमद्वलिपुरे शिवा ।  
 सुवर्णा कनका रामा हिरण्यपुरपीठके ॥  
 महालक्ष्मीमंदिशानी महालक्ष्मीपुरेऽम्बिका ।  
 चण्डपुरे प्रचण्डा च चण्डा चण्डवती शिवा ॥  
 इन्द्रेभेषखना चैव मायाकेश्वरी (काया?) तथा ।  
 कालीघट्टे महापीठे काली कालात्मिका तथा ॥  
 लिङ्गाख्ये भैरवी विद्या विजया आश्रवतीते ।  
 इति ते कथितं दिव्यं पीठक्रममुदाहृतम् ॥

It is to be noted that the six lists of Pīthas found in the *Brhan-Nīlantantra* do not agree fully with one another and are not free from mistakes.

<i>Number</i>	<i>Pīṭha</i>	<i>Anga-pratyanga</i>	<i>Devī</i>	<i>Bhairava</i>
4	Karatoyātaṭa	Vāma-karna	Aparnā	Vāmeśa
5	Śrīparvata	Dakṣiṇa-karna	Sundarī	Sundarānanda
6	Sugandhā	Nāsikā	Sunandā	Tryambaka
7	Vakranātha	Manas	Pāpaharā	Vakranātha
8	Godāvarī	Vāma-ganda	Viśvamātrkā	Viśveśa
9	Gandakī	Dakṣiṇa-ganda	Gandakī	Cakrapāṇi
10	Anala	Ūrdhva-danta	Nārāyaṇī	Samkrūra
11	Pañcasāgara	Adho-danta	Vārāhī	Mahārudra
12	Jvālāmukhī	Jihvā	Ambikā	Vatakeśvara
				Unmatta
13	Kāśmīra	Kantha	Mahāmāyā	Tisandhya
14	Śrīhatta	Givā	Mahālakṣmī	Sarvānanda
15	Bhāravaparvata	Oṣṭha	Avantī	Namrakarna
16	Prabhāsa	Adhara	C	Vakratunda
17	Prabhāsakhanda	Marma	~	Siddheśvara
18	Janasthāna	Civuka	Bhrāmārī	Vikṛtākṣa
19	Prayāga	Dvi-hast-āṅgulī	Kamālā	Venimādhava
20	Mānasa-sarovara	Dakṣiṇa-hastār- dha (Vāma- hasta)	Dākṣāyaṇī	Hara
21	Cattagrāma	Dakṣiṇa-hast- ārdha	Bhavāṇī	Candraśekhara
22	Mithilā	Vāma-skandha	Mahādevī	Mahodara
23	Ratnāvalī	Dakṣiṇa-skandha	Śivā	Śiva
				Kumāra
24	Manibandha	Vāma-manī- bandha	Gāyatrī	Śankara
25	Maniveda	Dakṣiṇa-manī- bandha	Sāvitrī	Saivāna
				Sthānu
26	Ujāni	Vāma-kaphonī	Mangalacandī	Kapilāmbāra
27	Ranakhanda	Dakṣiṇa-kaphonī	Bahulākṣī	Mahākāla
28	Bahulā	Vāma-bāhu	Bahulā	Bhīruka
29	Vakreśvara	Dakṣiṇa-bāhu	Vakreśvarī	Vakreśvara
30	Jālandhara	Vāma-stana	Tripuramālīnī	Bhīṣana
31	Rāmagurī	Dakṣiṇa-stana	Śivāṇī	Canda
32	Vaivasvata	Prsthā	Tripuṭā	Samanakarman
				Nimisa
33	Vaidyanātha	Hṛdaya	Navadurgā	Vaidyanātha
			Jayadurgā	
34	Utkala	Nābhī	Vijayā	Jaya
35	Haradvāra	Jathara	Bhairavī	Vakra
36	Kōkāmukha	Kōk (Sans Kukṣi)	Kōkeśvarī	Kōkeśvara
37	Kāñci	Kankālā	Vedagarbhā	Ruru
38	Kālamādhava	Vāma-nṛtamba	Kālī	Asṛtāṅga
39	Naimādā	Dakṣiṇa-nṛtamba	Śonākṣī	Bhadrāsena
40	Kāmarūpa	Mahāmudrā (Yoni)	Kāmākhyā	Rāvānanda
			Nilapārvatī	Umānanda
41	Mālava	Vāma-jānu	Śubhacandī	Tāmra
42	Trisrotā (Sans Trisrotās)	Dakṣiṇa-jānu	Candikā	Sadānanda
43	Jayantī	Vāma-janghā	Jayantī	Kramadīśvara
44	Nepālā	Dakṣiṇa-janghā	Mahāmāyā	Kapālī
			Navadurgā	

Number	Pītha	Anga-pratyanga	Devī	Bhāvava
45	Trihuta (Sans <i>Tirabhukti</i> )	Vāma-pāda	Amarī	Amara
46	Tripuṭā	Dakṣiṇa-pāda	Tripuṭā	Nala
47	Kṣīragrāma	Dakṣiṇa-pād- āṅguṣṭha	Yogādīyā	Kṣīrakhaṇḍa
48	Kālighāta	Dakṣiṇa-pād- āṅguḥ	Kālikā	Nakuleśa
49	Vibhāsa	Vāma-gulpha	Bhīmarūpā	Kapālī
50	Kurukṣetra	Dakṣiṇa-gulpha	Samvārī	Samvarta
			Vimalā	
51	Vṛndhyāśekhara	Vāma-pād- āṅguḥ	Vṛndhyavāsīnī	Puṇyabhājana

## B—Upapīthas

1	Kṛitakonā	Kṛīta	Bhuvanēśī	Kṛītin
2	Keśajāla	Kesa	Umā	Bhūteśa
3	Vārānāsī	Kundala	Viśālākṣī	Kālabhairava
			Annapūrnā	Viśveśvara
4	Uttarā	Vāma-gand-āmsā	Uttarīnī	Utsādana
5	Nalasthāna	Dakṣiṇa-gand- āmsā	Bhṛāmārī	Virūpākṣa
6	Attahāsa	Osthāmsa	Phullarā	Viśvanātha
7	Samhāra	Dantāmsa	Sūreśī	Sūreśa
8	Nilācala	Ucchista	Vimalā	Jagannātha
9	Ayodhyā	Kantha-hāra	Annapūrnā	Harīhara
10	Nandipura	Hārī-āmsa	Nandīnī	Nandīsvara
11	Śrīśaula	Grīv-āmsa	Sarveśvarī	Caritānanda
12	Kālīpītha	Śīromśa	Čandēśvarī	Čandēśvara
13	Čakradvīpa	Astra	Čakradhārīnī	Śūlapānī
14	Yaśora	Pānī	Yaśoēśvarī	Pracanda
15	Saticala	Karāmsa	Sunandā	Sunanda
16	Vṛndāvana	Skandhāmsā	Kumārī	Kumāra
17	Gaurīśekhara	Vasā	Yugādīyā	Bhīma
18	Nalahātī	Śrīrānālī	Sēphālīkā	Yogīśa
19	Śarvaśaula	Kakṣāmsa	Viśvamātā	Dandapānī
20	Śona	Nitambāmsa	Bhadrīā	Bhadrīesvara
21	Trīśrotā (cf p 40, No 42)	Pādāmsā	Pārvatī	Īsvara
22	Lankā	Nūpura	Indrākṣī	Rākṣaseśvara
23	Kataka	Čarmāmsa	Katakeśvarī	Vāmadeva
24	Pundra	Loma	Sarvākṣīnī	Sarva
25	Tailanga	Lomakhaṇḍa	Čandadāyīkā	Čandesa
26	Śvetabandha	Bhagnāmsā	Jayā	Mahābhīma <sup>1</sup>

*Materials utilized in the Present Edition of the Pīthanirnaya  
(Mahāpīthanīrūpana)*

The subjoined text of the *Pīthanirnaya* (*Mahāpīthanīrūpana*) is based upon the following sources

A—Manuscript No 196, entitled *Pīthanirnaya* (and probably also *Mahāpīthalaksana*), in the Government Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal

<sup>1</sup> I have failed to secure and examine any copy of the *Śivacarita*

- B—Manuscript No 3400, entitled *Mahāpīthanrūpana*, in the Government Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
- C—Manuscript No 5303, entitled *Mahāpīthanrūpana*, in the Government Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
- D—Text entitled *Mahāpīthanrūpana*, quoted from the *Tantracūdāmanī* in the *Prānatosanī Tantra*, Vasumati ed, pp 234ff
- E—Text entitled *Pīthanrūnaya*, quoted from the *Tantracūdāmanī* in the *Śabdakalpadrūma*, s v *pītha*
- F—Text quoted in the *Vācaspatya* by Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati, s v *pītha*
- G—Manuscript entitled *Pīthanrūnaya*, in the Collection of Mr S K Saraswati of the Calcutta University This manuscript, collected from Rajshahi, was copied about the second quarter of the eighteenth century
- H—Manuscript No 10863, entitled *Pīthanrūnaya*, in the Indian Museum Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal As the text found in this manuscript has wide variations it has been quoted in Appendix I—B Cf this text with that of the *Śivacarita*
- I—Manuscript No 402 (Sanskrit), entitled *Pīthanrūnaya*, in the Collection of the Vangīya Sāhitya Parisat, Calcutta, copied on the 14th Bhādra, Śaka 1760 (1838 A D ) and B S 1245
- AM—The Bengali version of the *Pīthanrūnaya* (*Mahāpīthanrūpana*) in the *Pīthamālā* section of the *Annadāmangala* by Bhāratacandra, Vangavāsī ed, pp 43–47

*Text of the Pīthanrūnaya or Mahāpīthanrūpana*

## पीठनिर्णयः ( महापीठनिरूपणम् )<sup>1</sup>

[Sections within square brackets are due to later modifications of the text They have either to be omitted or to be corrected according to indications given in the foot-notes Vide Appendix I]

ईश्वर उवाच ।<sup>2</sup>

मातः परात्परे देवि सर्वज्ञानमयीश्वरि ।

कथ्यतां मे सर्वपीठशक्तिभैरवदेवताः<sup>3</sup> ॥ १ ॥

<sup>1</sup> The section is styled पीठनिर्णय in AEGHI, but महापीठनिरूपण in BCD The expression महापीठलक्षण also occurs in A

<sup>2</sup> A—अथ महापीठलक्षण ॥ श्रीईश्वर उवाच ॥ B—श्रीगुरवे नमः ॥ श्रीईश्वर उवाच ॥ CD—तन्त्रचूडामणौ (चन्द्रचूडामणौ in C) महापीठनिरूपण यथा । ईश्वर उवाच । E—ईश्वर उवाच । G—श्रीहरि । ईश्वर उवाच । H—ॐ नमो भगवत्यै ॥ उक्त भावचूडामणौ । अथ पीठनिर्णय । I—ॐ नमः शिवाय । ईश्वर उवाच । Reference to the *Tantracūdāmanī* is found in the colophon of ABET

<sup>3</sup> BCDE—शक्तिभैरव°

देव्युवाच ।<sup>1</sup>

प्रष्टु वत्स प्रवक्ष्यामि दयाल भक्तवत्सल ।

याभिर्विना न सिध्यन्ति जपसाधनसत्क्रियाः<sup>2</sup> ॥ २ ॥

पञ्चाशदेकपौठानि एव भैरवदेवताः<sup>3</sup> ।

अङ्गप्रत्यङ्गपातेन विष्णुचक्रक्षतेन च<sup>4</sup> ।

ममाद्यवपुषो<sup>5</sup> देव हिताय त्वयि कथ्यते ॥ ३ ॥

ब्रह्मरन्ध्रं हिङ्गुलाया<sup>6</sup> भैरवो भौमलोचनः ।

कोट्टरी<sup>7</sup> सा महादेव त्रिगुणा या दिगम्बरी ॥ ४ ॥

1 A—श्रीपार्वत्युवाच, G—श्रीदेव्युवाच ।

2 ABDEI—<sup>0</sup>तत्क्रिया, G—मन्त्रसाधनतत्क्रिया, I—यासा विना ।

3 A—एकपञ्चाशत पौठ शक्तिभैरवदेवता, BCD—एकपञ्चाशत पौठ शक्तिभैरवदेवता, F—एकपञ्चाशत पौठा शक्तिभैरवदेवता । I—पञ्चाशदेकपौठश्च ।

AM— तथाय सतीर देह गिया चक्रपाणि ।  
काटिलेन चक्रधारे करि खानि खानि ॥  
येखाने येखाने चङ्ग पडिल सतीर ।  
महापौठ सेइ स्थान पूजित विधिर ॥  
करिया एकाग्र खण्ड काटिला केशव ।  
विधाता पूजिला भव हइला भैरव ॥

Although AM refers to 51 Pīthas, it actually speaks of 42 and omits Vārānāsī, Kanyāśrama, Nalāhātī, Kālīpītha or Karmāta, Vakresvara, Attahāsa, Yaśora (Jessore), Virāta-deśa, Nandipura and Lankā. This is because AM locates ten Pīthas (associated with the ten fingers of Sati's hands) at Prayāga. AM's readings in most cases tally with those of the *S'vacarita*. Our G text omits all the extra names excepting Vārānāsī and Kanyāśrama, while AM's original suggested Manibandha instead. The original text seems to have had 42 names (with 10 Pīthas located in Kāmarūpa) including either Vārānāsī or Kanyāśrama.

4 च is omitted in AC G—हरिचक्र<sup>0</sup> ।

5 A—समान्यवपुषो, B—[समा]द्यवपुषा, CDE—समान्यवपुषो, F—समास्य वपुषो, G—समास्य वपुषो देव हितायामररक्षसम्, I—सामान्यवपुषो देव हिताय देवरक्षसम् ।

6 I—हिङ्गुलाटे ।

7 AGI—कोट्टरी सा महादेवी, B—क[ट्टरी] सा महादेवी त्रिगुणा च, C—कोट्टरीशा महादेवी, D—कोट्टरी सा महादेव, E—कोट्टरी सा महामाया, F—कोट्टरीशा महादेव ।

AM— हिङ्गुलाय ब्रह्मरन्ध्र फेलिल केशव ।

देवता कोट्टरी भौमलोचन भैरव ॥

The words *Kotari*, *Kotari* and *Kottari* are found in Sanskrit lexicons in the sense of 'a naked woman', cf. *dugambari* (naked) as an epithet of the Indian mother goddess Hingulā is modern Hinglaj (lat 25° N, long 65° E) in Baluchistan. The goddess is locally known as Bibi Nānī, probably the same as Nana known from the Kusāna coins. Nana was the great mother-goddess worshipped in wide regions of Western and Central Asia.



करवीरे<sup>1</sup> चिनेत्रं मे देवी महिषमर्दिनी ।

क्रोधौशो<sup>2</sup> भैरवस्तत्र

सुगन्धायाञ्च नासिका<sup>3</sup> ॥ ५ ॥

देवस्यम्बकनामा च सुनन्दा तत्र देवता ॥ ६ ॥

काश्मीरे कण्ठदेशश्च<sup>4</sup> त्रिसन्धेश्वरभैरवः ।

महामाया भगवती गुणातीता वरप्रदा ॥ ७ ॥

ज्वालामुखा तथा जिह्वा<sup>5</sup> देव उन्नतभैरव ।

अम्बिका सिद्धिदा नाम्नी (देवी)<sup>6</sup>

स्तनं<sup>7</sup> जालन्धरे मम ॥ ८ ॥

<sup>1</sup> D (v1) EGI—शर्करारे ।

AM— शर्करारे तिन चक्षु त्रिगुणभैरव (विभव) ।

महिषमर्दिनी देवी क्रोधौश भैरव ॥

Karavira or Karavirapura is often identified with Sarkarāra which is supposed to be no other than modern Sukkur, the chief city of the District of that name in Sind. According to the *Kālikā Purāna* (chs 38-39), Karavirapura was the capital of the Brahmvarta country (Eastern Punjab) and was situated near the river Disadvatī, but the city is usually identified with Kolhapur (locally called Karvir) in the Bombay Presidency.

<sup>2</sup> ABI—क्रोधेशो ।

<sup>3</sup> GI—सुगन्धा नासिका मम, I—सुगन्धा तत्र देवता,

E—क्रोधौशो भैरवस्तत्र सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायक ॥

सुगन्धाया नासिका मे देवस्यम्बकभैरव ।

सुन्दरी सा महादेवी सुनन्दा तत्र देवता ॥

The elaboration of the text in E seems to be a later modification of the original.

AM— सुगन्धाय नासिका पडिल चक्रहता ।

चम्बक भैरव ताहे सुनन्दा देवता ॥

The Pitha is located at Shukārpur (about 13 miles to the north of Barisal in the Buckergunge District) on the Sondha (Sugandhā). The temple of Tryambakeśvara stands at Ponābāhā Sāmraū (about 3 miles to the south of Jhālākātā) on the same stream.

<sup>4</sup> B—कण्ठदेश मे, I—चिनेत्रेश्वरभैरव ।

AM— काश्मीरिते कण्ठ देवी महामाया ताय ।

त्रिसन्ध ईश्वर नाम भैरव तथाय ॥

As there is no reference to the celebrated Sārādā (Sardī) and Amaranātha pithas of Kāshmir, there seems to be a fantastic element in the description of this Pitha.

<sup>5</sup> A—महाजिह्वा देवस्योन्नत°, B—तथा जिह्वा, CDEF—महाजिह्वा, G—महाजिह्वा देवतो°, I—महाजिह्वा देव उन्नतभैरव ।

<sup>6</sup> A—लक्ष्मी ।

AM— ज्वालामुखे जिह्वा ताहे अग्नि अनुभव ।

देवीर अम्बिका नाम उन्नत भैरव ॥

This seems to suggest the reading अम्बिका सिद्धिदा देवी । Jvālāmukhī (lat 31° N, long 76° E) lies in the Kangra District of the Punjab.

<sup>7</sup> F—स्तनी ।

भीषणो भैरवस्तत्र देवी त्रिपुरमालिनी<sup>1</sup> ॥ ६ ॥

हार्दपौठ<sup>2</sup> वैद्यनाथे वैद्यनाथस्तु भैरवः ।

देवता जयदुर्गाख्या

नेपाले जानु मे शिव<sup>3</sup> ॥ १० ॥

कपाली भैरवः श्रीमान् महाभाया च देवता ॥ ११ ॥

मानसे दक्षहस्तो<sup>4</sup> मे देवी दाक्षायणी हर (हरः) ।

[अमरो भैरवस्तत्र सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायकः] ॥ १२ ॥

[उत्कले नाभिदेशश्च<sup>5</sup> विरजाक्षेत्रमुच्यते] ।

विमला सा महादेवी जगन्नाथस्तु भैरवः ॥ १३ ॥

<sup>1</sup> E—त्रिपुरमालिनी, B—ईशानो भैरवस्तत्र देवी त्रिपुरनाशिनी ।

AM— जालन्धरे तांदार पड़िल एक स्तन ।  
त्रिपुरमालिनी देवी भैरव भीषण ॥

Jālandhara (lat 31° N, long 75° E) is the chief city of the Jullundur District of the East Punjab. But the Pitha is located near Jvālāmukhī.

<sup>2</sup> ACF—हृदयपौठ, B—हृदय पौठ, I—देवताख्या जयदुर्गा ।

AM— वैद्यनाथे हृदय भैरव वैद्यनाथ ।  
देवी तांजे जयदुर्गा सर्वसिद्धि साथ ॥

Vaidyanātha is the same as Deoghari-Vaidyanathdham (lat 86° E, long 24° N) in the Santal Parganas District of Bihar.

<sup>3</sup> DE—जानुनी मम ।

AM— नेपाले दक्षिण जङ्घा कपाली भैरव ।  
देवी ताथ महाभाया सदा मद्योत्सव ॥

The non mention of Paśupatmātha, the most famous deity in Nepal, in this connection seems to expose the imaginary character of the description.

<sup>4</sup> I—°हस्त, ABC—मालवे दक्षहस्त, F—मालवे, G—दाक्षायणी हरि ।

AM— चार खर्द जानि हस्त मानसरोवर ।  
देवी दाक्षायणी हर भैरव विहरे ॥

AM suggests the reading हर and the omission of the second half of the verse. The Mānasa lake (lat 30° N, long 81° E), the source of the river Satadru (Satlej), is in the Himalayas. Since Ujjayinī, a city in Mālava, is separately mentioned (v. 16), मानसे appears to be the reading intended. But nothing can be said definitely as Ujjayinī in this case may actually represent a village of Bengal. It is, however, to be noted that the celebrated god Mahākālā (Śiva) is not mentioned in connection either with Ujjayinī or with Mālava. Mālava is modern Malwa, but the name often indicated East Malwa of which the ancient capital was Vidiśā (modern Besnagar in the Gwālor State).

<sup>5</sup> ABCF—नाभिदेशस्तु, I—°देशश्च ।

G— विरजा चोत्कले ख्याता नाभिर्मे मम (जय ?) भैरव ।  
गण्डका गण्डकी (गण्डक ?) चण्डी जगन्नाथस्तु भैरव ॥

Although not free from mistake, this probably points to the original reading of verses 13-14. For elaboration of the earlier text as a later trait, cf p 44, note 3.

गण्डक्या<sup>1</sup> गण्डपातश्च तच्च सिद्धिर्न सप्रयः ।

तच्च सा<sup>2</sup> गण्डकौ चण्डी चक्रपाणिस्तु भैरवः ॥ १४ ॥ ]

बज्रलाया वामबाज्रबज्रलाया च देवता ।

भौरको भैरवस्तत्र<sup>3</sup> सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायकः ॥ १५ ॥

उज्जयिन्या कूर्परश्च<sup>4</sup> माङ्गल्य-कपिलाम्बरः (मङ्गला कपिलाम्बरः) ॥

[भैरवः सिद्धिदः साक्षादेवी मङ्गलचण्डिका] ॥ १६ ॥

AM— उत्कले पडिल नाभि मोक्ष याहा सेवि ।

जय नामे भैरव विजया नामे देवी ॥

AM suggests the reading विजया सा महादेवी जयनामा तु भैरव । or

विजया चोत्कले ख्याता नाभिर्मै जयभैरव ॥

Virajā or Virajāksetra is identical with modern Jāyapur (lat 20° N, long 86° E) in the Cuttack District of Orissa

Cf ततो वैतरणी गच्छेत् सर्वपापप्रमोचनीम् ।

विरज तीर्थमासाद्य विराजति यथा शशी ॥

( महाभारत 1.1.14 )

The name of the Bhairava in the modified text is apparently borrowed from the god Jagannātha at Puri and probably hints at an attempt of claiming that deity to be a manifestation of Śiva

1 B—गण्डके गण्डपातश्च, E—गण्डपातश्च, I—गण्डक्या गण्डकौ चण्डी चक्रपाणिस्तु भैरव ।

AM— गण्डकौते डानि गण्ड पडु चक्रघाय ।

चक्रपाणि भैरव गण्डकौ चण्डी ताच ॥

This suggests the reading गण्डक्या दक्षगण्डश्च । The Gandakī (modern Gandak) is a tributary of the Ganges and meets the latter river near Bakhtyarpur in Bihar. The Pitha has been located at Śālagrāma at the source of the Gandak

2 A—सा तच्च ।

3 I—बाज्रलाया, तीव्रको भैरवो देव, D—भैरवो देव ।

AM— बाज्रलाय वामबाज्र फेलिला केशव ।

बाज्रला चण्डिका ताडे भौरक भैरव ॥

AM suggests the reading बाज्रलाया वामबाज्रबाज्रलाया । The Pitha is located at Ketugrāma near Katwa in the Burdwan District

4 A—उज्जय्या कर्परश्चैव, B—उज्जय्या कर्परश्चापि, G—उज्जयिन्या कर्परश्च माङ्गले (मङ्गला ?), I—तर्जय्या च कर्पूर माङ्गले कपिलेश्वर ।

AM— उज्जयिने कफोनि मङ्गलचण्डी देवी ।

भैरव कपिलाम्बर शुभ यंरे सेवि ॥

AM seems to refer to Ujāni or Kogrām in the Burdwan District of Bengal, although Ujjayini (modern Ujjain) in the early lists of Pithas must be identified with the famous city in Avanti or West Mālava, now lying in the Gwalior State in Western India. Note that the name of the Bhairava is not Mahākāla who is known to have been the tutelary deity of Ujjayini. The 12 *gyotirlingas* as enumerated in the *Śiva Purāna* (I, 38, 17-20) are Somanātha in Saurāstra, Mallikārjuna on the Śrīśaila, Mahākāla at Ujjayini, Onkāra at Amareśvara, Kedāra in the Himalayas, Bhīmaśankara at Dākṣi

चट्टले दत्तबाऊर्मे भैरवश्चन्द्रशेखरः ।

व्यक्तरूपा भगवती भवानी यत्र<sup>1</sup> देवता ।

विशेषतः कलियुगे वसामि चन्द्रशेखरे ॥ १७ ॥

त्रिपुराया दत्तपादो देवी त्रिपुरसुन्दरी (देवता त्रिपुरा नलः)<sup>2</sup> ।

[भैरवस्त्रिपुरेश्च<sup>3</sup> सर्वाभीष्टप्रदायकः<sup>4</sup>] ॥ १८ ॥

त्रिस्तोतायां वामपादो भाभरी भैरवेश्वरः<sup>5</sup> ॥ १९ ॥

योनिपीठं कामगिरौ<sup>6</sup> कामाख्या तत्र देवता ।

यत्रास्ते त्रिगुणातीता रक्तपाषाणरूपिणौ<sup>7</sup> ॥ २० ॥

(at the source of the Bhīmā north-west of Poona), Viśvesvara at Vārānasi, Tryambaka on the bank of the Gautamī (Godāvarī) near Nasik, Vaidyanātha at Citābhūmī (Deoghar Baidyanathdham in the Santal Parganas), Nāgeśa at Dārūkāvāna (Aundh ?), Rāmeśvara at Setubandha, and Ghṛsneśa (Ghusrineśa, Ghuśmeśa) at Śivālaya (Ellora near Daulatabad) The original reading of the passage may have been उज्जयिन्या कूर्परश्च मङ्गला कपिलाम्बर with the second line of the verse omitted Cf pp 44, note 3, 45, note 5

<sup>1</sup> BDEFI—तत्र ।

AM— चट्टग्रामे डानिहल अर्द्ध अनुभव ।

भवानी देवता चन्द्रशेखर भैरव ॥

The Pitha is located at the Sitākunda on the Chandranath hill in the Chittagong District of East Bengal

<sup>2</sup> D (v1) E—देवता त्रिपुरा मता, G—देवता त्रिपुरा नल ।

AM— दक्षिण चरणस्थानि पडे त्रिपुराय ।

नल नामे भैरव त्रिपुरा देवी ताय ॥

The original reading was apparently त्रिपुराया दत्तपादो देवता त्रिपुरा नल with the second line of the verse omitted (cf p 46, note 4) The Pitha is located at Radhakishore pur (old Rāngāmāta or Udaypur) in the Tripurā (Hill Tipperah) State in Bengal The city of Tripura or Tripuri, mentioned in early literature, has, however, to be identified with modern Tewar near Jubbulpur in the Central Province The temple of the goddess at Radhakishorepur was built by king Dharmamānukya in Śaka 1423 (1501 A D)

<sup>3</sup> A—°स्त्रिपुराश्च । See the *S'vacarita*, AM, and the G text which speak of the Bharava as Nala (cf note 2 above)

<sup>4</sup> E—°फलप्रद ।

<sup>5</sup> DEG—भैरवोऽम्बर, I—भैरवाम्बर ।

AM— तिरोताय पडे वामपद मनोहर ।

अमरी देवता ताडे भैरव अमर ॥

AM suggests the reading तिरोताया वामपादश्चामरी भैरवोऽमर । It is interesting to note that the word *tirotā* stands for Sanskrit *stri* in the Assamese language But AM here follows the *S'vacarita* passage referring to *Trishuta* (Sanskrit *Trishbhukti*), modern Tirhut or North Bihar Trisrotā is of course the modern Tista, a tributary of the Brahmaputra or Yamunā The Pitha is located at Sālbāri in the Jalpaiguri District

<sup>6</sup> G—कामरूपे ।

<sup>7</sup> AG—यत्ता (I—यत्त°) पाषाण°, G—°स्त्रिवानन्दोऽय भैरव, तस्मान्नीलाचलो यत्र, I—°साक्षात् उमानन्दाय, भस्माच्छो भवेद्यत्र ।

AM— मन्दासुद्रा कामरूपे रज्जोयोग याय ।

रामानन्द (v1 रावा°) भैरव कामाख्या देवी ताय ।